

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Stop war moves against Cuba!

The following statement was issued October 3 by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

The actions announced by President Carter in his October 1 speech are ominous steps toward war.

Carter is sending warships into the Caribbean, establishing a military command center at Key West, and beefing up "Rapid Deployment Forces" for military interventions in other countries.

Carter has also ordered a landing of 1,600 to 1,800 Marines at Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuba, complete with assault ships and heavy artillery. This provocative "exercise"—carried out on Cuban soil occupied against the wishes of the Cuban people—is an outrageous violation of Cuban sovereignty.

These moves constitute a clear threat to use U.S. military might against Cuba and against other countries of the Caribbean and Central America.

Carter's threats are especially aimed at the people of Nicaragua, who recently toppled the murderous dictatorship of the Somoza family, imposed on them forty-five years ago by Washington. And the threats are directed at the people of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, where tens of thousands of impoverished workers, peasants, and young people are trying to get rid of brutal U.S.-backed military regimes.

To keep Central America and the Caribbean "safe" for plunder by U.S. corporations,



**Carter's plan to land an assault force of 1,600-1,800 U.S. Marines at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba—an outrageous violation of Cuban sovereignty—is a clear threat to use U.S. military might throughout Central America and the Caribbean.**

Carter is threatening to drag this country into another Vietnam.

This war drive greatly increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust. In a pointed threat against the Soviet Union, Carter reminded his listeners, "Our strategic nuclear forces are powerful enough to destroy any potential adversary many times over."

Why is Carter undertaking these aggressive actions? Because of the presence of a few thousand Soviet troops in Cuba? Carter ad-

mits these have been in place for years and could not possibly attack this country.

No, the "threat" Carter is mobilizing against is the workers and peasants of Latin America, who want to determine for themselves the kind of social system they live under, without U.S. interference.

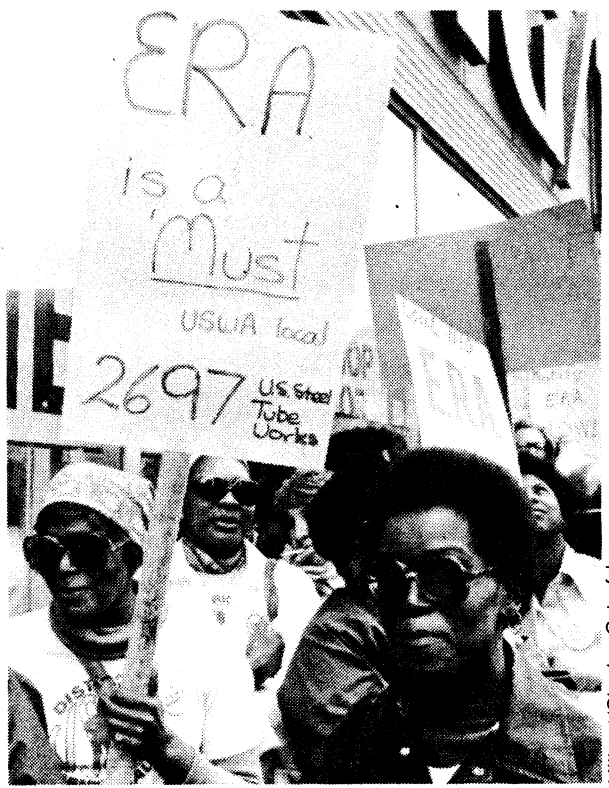
One thing is certain: If Carter expected to panic the Cubans into retreat from their solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles, he was

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## THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Labor brings new  
power to ERA battle

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Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

SPECIAL FEATURE:  
Socialist Workers  
Party Political Resolution

**Building a  
Revolutionary  
Workers Party  
in the 1980s**

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
International  
Socialist  
INDEPENDENT WORKERS

## Kampuchea famine

During its brutal war in Southeast Asia, the United States government dropped 539,000 tons of bombs on Kampuchea (Cambodia). This small peasant country became one of the most ravaged nations on earth.

This devastation was compounded by the terror of the Pol Pot regime.

As a result of U.S. aggression and the savage policies of Pol Pot, more than half the remaining Kampuchean population of four million now faces starvation.

Why has the government of the United States—the richest agricultural producer on earth with tons of foodstuffs stockpiled—refused to provide the aid so desperately needed?

The answer is that Washington is using its denial of aid to “punish” Vietnam for its role in helping to topple the murderous Pol Pot tyranny.

As the recent imperialist-orchestrated campaign to keep Pol Pot in the United Nations showed, Washington is emerging more and more openly as the chief defender of that bloody tyrant.

What Washington was unable to do with its B-52s and napalm, it is trying to do now, using starvation as its weapon. The U.S. rulers are willing to see millions of Kampucheans die in order to weaken the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin government, in hopes of imposing a government more to Washington's liking.

U.S. State Department officials are trying to shift the blame for the famine onto Vietnam. Insisting on international “controls” so no food goes to the Heng Samrin army or to Vietnam, they refuse to provide any aid at all.

The fact is that Vietnam has provided more aid to Kampuchea than the French, British, West German, and U.S. governments combined.

Washington is threatening the very survival of the Kampuchean people by holding up the food and medicine that is needed to relieve their plight. The government's pretext of waiting until this aid can be “adequately monitored” should be condemned by the American working people.

We have no stake in this criminal effort to starve Kampuchea into submission. American

labor should demand immediate and unconditional aid—massive shipments of food and medicine—for the starving Kampucheans.

## ...Cuba

Continued from front page  
dead wrong.

As Fidel Castro explained to the American people on CBS-TV's *60 Minutes* the day before Carter spoke, “Cuba is not a property of the United States. Latin America is not a property of the United States. And we consider ourselves to be a free country, and we have the right to think as a free country.”

Why should Carter have the right to dictate how Cuba chooses to defend itself, including having Soviet troops on the island? Why should Carter have the right to tell the Soviet Union that it can't respond to Cuba's request for military aid—when the U.S. government has half a million troops stationed all over the world?

Carter is not only violating the sovereign rights of Cuba and the Soviet Union with his sabre-rattling, he is disregarding the wishes of working people in this country.

We do not want any more Vietnams.

We do not want a nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union.

We are in no mood to sacrifice our lives to suppress workers and peasants of other countries on Wall Street's behalf.

That's why the U.S. rulers are trying to disguise their war moves as “defense” against a “threat” from Cuba.

But Cuba has never invaded the United States—never in history! It has never occupied U.S. territory. It has never tried to assassinate U.S. leaders. It has never bombed, blockaded, or terrorized this country.

It is the United States that has committed all these crimes against Cuba—and against many other countries.

Cuba is no threat to the working people of the United States or of any other country. Just the opposite—it is an example of what can be accomplished by getting rid of capitalism. Working people in Cuba have taken power into their own hands and are using it to build a new and better life. They have outlawed discrimination against Blacks and are taking giant strides in the struggle to achieve genuine

equality for women. They have eliminated unemployment.

Carter's claim that Cuba is an “economic failure” is wishful thinking. Despite twenty years of U.S. blockade and aggression, the Cubans have greatly improved the standard of living and the quality of health care, education, and other social services.

They have responded generously to appeals from other countries suffering the ravages of U.S. exploitation. While Washington withholds aid from Nicaragua to pressure the Sandinista government against infringing on U.S. corporate interests, Cuba has sent teachers, medical personnel, milk, and schoolbooks.

In addition, when asked by sovereign governments, Cuban troops have been in the front lines of the fight against imperialist aggression in Africa and the Mideast—for example, by helping Angola defeat an invasion by the South African racists in 1975.

In response to Cuba's independent course, the capitalists who run the United States through the Democratic and Republican parties have waged relentless aggression against Cuba for twenty years. They have tried to strangle Cuba with an economic blockade. They invaded it at the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

These hostile acts forced the Cubans to turn—as is their absolute right—wherever they could for help. From the Soviet Union they have received economic and military aid essential to their self-defense.

Now the Democratic and Republican politicians are trying to portray this small island as a threat to the mighty United States of America. But it is the U.S. rulers who are the source of the war danger.

American workers and farmers want genuine friendship and peace with all the people of Latin America, including the Cuban people. To achieve this, U.S. policy must be reversed.

The United States should immediately send emergency shipments of food and medicine to war-ravaged Nicaragua.

The United States should grant independence to the island of Puerto Rico.

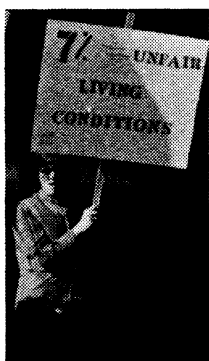
The United States should dismantle its base at Guantánamo, lift the blockade against Cuba, and establish full diplomatic and trade relations.

Hands off Cuba!

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### Carter's new pay board

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley calls for union officials to reject latest wage-cutting scheme. **Pages 5, 31.**

### Nicaraguan speaks at United Nations

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega appeals for aid, tells nations that kept Somoza in power to pay the dictator's international debts. **Page 4.**



### Stop Big Oil!

Unions are moving ahead with actions against the oil profiteers in more than forty cities on October 17. **Page 25.**



## The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH  
ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Gus Horowitz, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Janice Lynn, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

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Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# Carter speech: big step toward military aggression in Caribbean

By Harry Ring

Some of the big-business media have pictured Carter's October 1 "Soviet troops in Cuba" speech as a voice of moderation, with the military threats intended only to placate Senate hawks.

This is a dangerous hoax. Carter has utilized the pretext of Soviet "combat" troops in Cuba to take a big step toward U.S. military aggression in the Caribbean.

The Carter moves include:

- A provocative mock assault at the U.S. Naval Station at Guantánamo,

Cuba. By mid-October a 1,600-1,800-member Marine assault team, backed by 2,000 navy personnel, will stage the "attack." They will come in four landing craft, buttressed by ten Marine jets and twenty-four helicopters. To announce their arrival, their artillery will fire "inert ordinance."

- Dispatch of a sixteen-ship navy task force, including two nuclear-armed submarines and led by the giant aircraft carrier *Forrestal*, for twelve days of maneuvers off the coast of Puerto Rico.

- An increase in U.S. spy flights around Cuba, with a threat to resume flights over the island, violating Cuba's airspace.

- Creation of a Caribbean Joint Task Force with a command post at Key West, Florida.

- Addition of two destroyers to the three already deployed in the Indian Ocean. Later this month, an aircraft-carrier task force will also be sent in. This will bring them within striking distance of such "hot spots" as the Mideast, Iran, and the Horn of Africa.

- The Pentagon began a stepped-up program of procurement of DC-10 cargo aircraft for world deployment of troops and ground warfare equipment. The goal is to give U.S. "Rapid Deployment Forces" a capacity for speeding as many as 110,000 troops to any part of the globe.

- Washington is again trying to persuade Latin American governments to lend themselves to creation of a "regional military peace-keeping force." If it gets a favorable response, the *New York Times* reported October 1, the U.S. will formally present the proposal at the next meeting of the Organization of American States. The U.S. had proposed such a force earlier this year to try to save the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, but a majority of the Latin American governments refused to go along. If Washington does get such a "peace-keeping" force, it will include the most murderous dictatorships in Latin America.

All this, of course, in the name of meeting the "threat" of a "Soviet brigade" in Cuba.

## No threat to U.S.

In his speech, Carter all but admitted the Soviet troop issue was phony. "This is not a large force," he said, "nor an assault force. It presents no direct threat to us. It has no airborne or seaborne capability . . . no nuclear threat to the United States is involved."

Where then is the "threat"?

A good clue was offered in the *New York Times* report on the move to establish an OAS military force.

At issue, this voice of the U.S. rulers said, is the "continuing instability in Central America, where left-wing insurgents are challenging military regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala. . . ."

From the outset, Washington has been determined to crush such insurgent movements. As a cover for projected aggression, Carter has whipped up the Soviet troop "crisis." It is similar to the way Johnson fabricated an attack on a U.S. vessel in the Gulf of Tonkin as the pretext for his savage escalation in Vietnam in 1964.

In his speech, Carter assured the governments of Latin America that "the United States will act in response for a request for assistance to meet any such threat from Soviet or Cuban troops."

Such a "request for assistance" was the pretext in 1965 for dispatching U.S. Marines to Santo Domingo to crush a prodemocracy rebellion there. In fact, the Marines had landed almost before the "request for assistance" was received.

Back in 1961, the Kennedy administration tried to destroy the Cuban revolution by sending in an invasion force of counterrevolutionary Cuban

*Continued on page 27*

## Nicaragua denounces Carter's threats



Militant/Fred Murphy

Nicaraguan masses mobilize in support of the revolution. Their struggle is a prime target of Carter's war moves.

MANAGUA—The following editorial appeared in the October 3 issue of *'Barricada,'* official daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua:

U.S. President James Carter's decision to reinforce the military forces of the United States in the Caribbean, Central America, and the hemisphere in general is of grave importance.

Carter takes as a pretext the supposed "discovery" of the presence of Soviet military advisers in Cuba, but he admits at the same time that their presence was detected almost twenty years ago. So it is clear that the pretext is nothing more than that—a pretext.

We must ask what the true motives are for this decision by President Carter. Without a doubt, the victory of the Nicaraguan war of liberation and the beginning of a revolutionary process that is giving independence to our country—as

well as the victory of the Panamanian people in their struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone—has profoundly modified Central America's situation of dependence imposed by imperialism.

Those are the real concerns that worry Carter.

The most reactionary sectors in the United States can not even conceive of a process of democratization, independence, and sovereignty in Latin America. Much less can they understand the revolutionary will of our peoples and the concrete possibility that that will might be converted into a new dawn for Latin Americans.

The apparent "response to Cuba" is at bottom a concrete threat to the progressive forces of the Caribbean and Central America.

Carter has once again made plain the great contradiction between his words and the facts, between speeches and action, between the conciliatory gesture and the threat. In the name of peace he is endanger-

ing peace; in the name of freedom he is offering greater support to the dictatorships of the continent that deprive their peoples of freedom.

The history of the United States is an unending history of pretexts to cover up aggression, expansion, and the defense of the interests of imperialism at all costs. A new chapter in that history is undoubtedly being written in this case.

On the other hand, the history of our nation has been and will continue to be the history of peoples who struggle for their liberation. Nothing will stop that struggle. No threat will make us renounce our independence.

In the face of danger we find strength in unity and revolutionary decisiveness. In the face of imperialism, just as in the past, we will always hold high the banners of our sovereignty and we will always be ready for battle, following the anti-imperialist example set by Sandino.

Halt the imperialist aggression. Death to the counterrevolution.

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# Nicaraguan leader addresses United Nations

By Aníbal Yáñez

UNITED NATIONS—In an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations September 28, Comandante Daniel Ortega Saavedra, a leader of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), made an appeal for unconditional aid for the reconstruction of the country of Augusto César Sandino.

"For thirty-one years Somozaism has usurped Nicaragua's representation at the UN," Ortega declared.

He pointed out that "Somoza found accomplices in the United Nations" among "those representatives who were also enemies of their own peoples."

Ortega saluted the "revolutionary governments, the progressive governments, and the democratic governments that sided with the Nicaraguan people." But he added that it had been the people of Nicaragua who defeated Somoza's U.S.-backed troops.

"In Nicaragua," he said, "Somoza and his National Guard were always seen as the expression of the foreign intervention."

Ortega noted that the murderous Somoza regime had caused the total economic bankruptcy of the country, saddling Nicaragua with a huge debt in loans from international banks.

"Nicaragua cannot pay this debt nor will it indebt itself anew in order to pay it," he declared.

"Somoza has the money that was stolen from the people in foreign banks, and therefore Somoza and his accomplices should be sued by Nicaragua's creditors."

He pointed to the international banks, which share responsibility for Nicaragua's present situation through their financial support to Somoza.

The Sandinista leader stressed that the debt that Somoza left Nicaragua must be assumed "by the developed countries, by the economically powerful countries, and especially those that fed Somozaism with financing."

Later, a news conference was held here by Ortega and three other members of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction. Junta member Alfonso Robelo stated

that the debts contracted by Somoza for arms purchases would not be paid, nor would Nicaragua repay fraudulent loans that went directly to the dictator's foreign bank accounts.

The destroyed country does not have the ability to pay the remaining debts immediately, Robelo said, and a moratorium on repayment is required.

In his speech to the UN General Assembly, Ortega asked for "unconditional aid for the reconstruction of Nicaragua." He also spoke about the rising struggle in El Salvador.

Ortega stated that several members of the U.S. Congress say that they have reports from the dictatorship in El Salvador, as well as from businessmen from that country, that the Sandinistas are trying to precipitate the fall of the regime there.

Ortega commented: "Now it would appear that the Sandinistas are responsible for the murder of workers, peasants, religious figures, and students in El Salvador!"

These accusations about the FSLN and El Salvador are a provocation

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Perspectiva Mundial/Aníbal Yáñez

Members of Nicaraguan junta at UN news conference. Left to right: Sergio Ramírez, Daniel Ortega, Alfonso Robelo, Miguel D'Escoto.

## D.C. rail union urges aid to Nicaragua

The following resolution was adopted by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1906 at a meeting attended by forty members September 27. Lodge 1906 represents 500 members—70 percent of whom are Black—at Amtrak Corporate Headquarters in Washington, D.C.

WHEREAS, the people of Nicaragua have paid a great price for their freedom from the Somoza dictatorship; the vast destruction wrought by Somoza and his National Guard have left the country in a desperate situation;

Three hundred tons of food per day are needed to stave off the

threat of starvation and medicines, tools, and clothing are also urgently needed;

As a final act of robbing the Nicaraguan people, Somoza drained the national treasury before he fled and thus left the country in bankruptcy; the agricultural and industrial sectors have been severely disrupted and;

WHEREAS, the United States being the richest country in the world, and also that country responsible for having installed and supported the Somoza dynasty has shown a mediocre response toward the tremendous needs of the Nicaraguan people;

THEREFORE, be resolved, that Lodge 1906 BRAC, the citizens and

trade unionists who produce the wealth of this country, call on the President and Congress to live up to U.S. promises to support Nicaragua by immediately increasing food aid and by granting generous unconditional reconstruction aid for the rebuilding of a free and democratic Nicaragua;

FURTHERMORE, BRAC Lodge 1906 supports D.C. NICA's [Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition] and any other efforts to educate the American people about the reality of Nicaragua today and would like to be listed as a cosponsor of the panel and film scheduled to take place Sunday, October 21, at All Souls Church "Nicaragua: Then and Now."

## Terrorists attack Cuban film showing in Miami

By Miguel Pendás

MIAMI—A gang of right-wing Cubans from a group called Abdala, some armed with pistols, violently attacked and broke up a film showing sponsored by the Antonio Maceo Brigade September 29. Several persons were injured.

The attack, involving public leaders of Abdala in serious crimes before scores of witnesses, marks a major escalation of terrorist violence against supporters of the rapprochement between the Cuban exile communities and the Cuban government.

The Antonio Maceo Brigade is made up of young Cuban exiles who support normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba and an end to the U.S. economic blockade.

About 150 persons had gathered at the First Unitarian Church to see the highly acclaimed Cuban film *Memoirs of Underdevelopment*.

Just as the film was about to start, two leaders of Abdala, including Ricardo Aparicio, the group's leading local spokesperson, walked to the front of the room and declared that the film showing would not go on until they were allowed to present the "realities of Cuban life."

Andrés Gómez, a leader of the brigade, came forward and calmly tried to explain to the audience the purpose of the film showing.

He had spoken for only a few seconds when disrupters planted in the audience stood up and shouted him down.

The disrupters provoked shoving

matches with members of the audience. Within seconds, as if on cue, the goons picked up chairs and hurled them at the audience. They also grabbed the film projectors, smashing them on the floor.

Leading brigade activists were selected out and beaten. Three goons attacked a woman in charge of the door, dragging her fifteen feet by the hair and taking the entire collection, estimated at \$450.

Another leading female activist was assaulted and her purse stolen. A third was grabbed by three men who beat her head against a concrete wall.

Approximately twenty terrorists were involved in the attack.

The attackers then quickly formed a cordon at the back of the room. At least four were seen to pull out pistols, and at least two shots were fired in the air. They then ran out the door in a group.

Dade County police did not arrive until about ten minutes after the terrorist attack was over, even though they were called several minutes before it began.

Miami police have refused to provide protection for brigade film showings even though this is not the first time the brigade has been the target of terrorist violence.

Carlos Muñoz, a member of the national committee of the brigade, was assassinated last April in Puerto Rico. A Cuban exile terrorist gang calling itself "Comando Zero" has claimed credit for the murder. Although the U.S. government obviously knows who

## Defend free speech

MIAMI, Oct. 2—At a well-attended news conference here today, Andrés Gómez of the Antonio Maceo Brigade said the brigade has tentatively rescheduled the film showing for October 13. A broad defense will be organized, he said.

Eleanor Ginsberg, executive director of the Florida American Civil Liberties Union, said that a delegation would meet with Dade County District Attorney Janet Reno to demand arrest of the Abdala terrorists and police protection for the film showing.

Gómez also read a statement condemning the violent disruption of the September 29 film showing, signed by thirty-seven persons representing a spectrum of Cuban community groups and civil libertarians.

A statement was also read at the news conference from Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers presidential candidate, who called the attack an "attempt to prevent the Brigade from presenting the truth about the Cuban revolution."

"Abdala is not acting on its own," Pulley said. "The real responsibility lies with President Carter and other government figures who are waging a campaign of intimidation around the so-called 'discovery' of Soviet troops in Cuba."

Pulley demanded the immediate arrest and prosecution of those responsible for the attack, as well as an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba, establishment of full diplomatic relations, and dismantling of the U.S. base at Guantánamo.

the terrorists are—it organized, trained, and armed them to begin with—it has refused so far to arrest and punish Muñoz's murderers.

The context of these attacks is the rapprochement with the Cuban community abroad initiated a year ago by the Castro government.

The steady growth of sentiment in the Cuban community here for this rapprochement has driven the right wing into a frenzy.

President Carter's order cancelling the family reunification flights last

August, followed by his attempt to whip up a war hysteria against Cuba, has obviously been taken as a go-ahead by the terrorists.

The Abdala attack was a bold one. It involved their public leaders in assault with a deadly weapon, battery, and armed robbery in front of more than 100 witnesses. Police have been provided with photographs and names of several assailants.

The police have no excuse for not immediately arresting and throwing the book at the Abdala goons.



# Pulley hits wage-cutting pay board, calls for union officials to get off

By L. Paltrineri

CLEVELAND—The new federal "Pay Advisory Committee" is nothing but "help for Carter in his war against the living standards of American workers," Andrew Pulley told a statewide rally here September 29. "Instead of lending their authority to this fraud, labor officials should get off the board right now!"

Pulley, Socialist Workers presidential candidate, was on hand to help launch the petitioning drive for Ohio ballot status for himself, vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann, and Ohio SWP senatorial candidate John Powers.

The rally of more than 100 also capped off the socialist campaign of Thabo Ntweng for Cleveland mayor.

"The record of Carter's 'wage-price guidelines' is clear," Pulley explained. "The 7 percent guideline has held wages back while letting prices skyrocket. The official inflation rate is more than 13 percent, and we all know it's even higher for basic necessities. Blacks, Latinos, women—those at the bottom of the wage scale already—are suffering the most from this theft of our real wages."

"With prices up and wages down, the corporations pocket the difference in higher profits."

OCT. 3—Returns reported today credited SWP mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng with 1,546 votes, about 1.2 percent of the total.

"What will the new pay board do that is any different or any better?" the socialist candidate asked.

"Will it keep prices down? Nobody even pretends it will. Its only target is wages. But wages are not and never have been the cause of inflation."

"The board is supposed to be fair because it has five labor representatives, five from business, and five from the 'public.' But who is this mysterious 'public'? It's people like John Dunlop, a Harvard economist who helped Nixon put over his wage controls. So really big business has ten seats."

"Everywhere I've campaigned—from Detroit to Virginia and North Carolina—workers tell me how they're feeling the squeeze from Carter's policies. Workers don't cause inflation and we don't see why we should have to pay for it. The sentiment of the union ranks has been to reject the 7 percent guidelines."

"That's why Carter has called for help from top union officials to sit on this board and join in policing wages."

"But this does nothing for the working man or woman. What we need is substantial wage increases and cost-of-living escalators to protect us against inflation. We need labor solidarity with every union that goes into battle against these guidelines."

"We need demonstrations against Carter's decontrol of energy prices—like the actions called by the United Auto Workers, the Machinists, and other unions for October 17 [see news story, page 27]."

"And we need labor to take the lead in fighting against the \$138 billion war budget, which is the real primary cause of inflation," Pulley declared.

The rally was held on the eve of the Cleveland mayoral primary. SWP candidate Thabo Ntweng told the rally he thought his campaign had been

successful regardless of the official vote tally.

"I got a tremendous response from the people of Cleveland because I told the truth," he said. "I spoke out for the implementation of busing to desegregate the schools. I have walked the picket lines with striking UAW members at Bailey Meter."

Mass layoffs in auto have hit Cleveland-area workers hard. Ntweng has campaigned for a thirty-hour workweek with no cut in weekly take-home pay—including current overtime premiums. This would allow all those laid off to go back to work immediately, and open up thousands of new jobs.

The socialist campaign has won significant media coverage. One TV station accompanied Ntweng to a picket line of unemployed workers. Another followed his campaign to the gates of Republic Steel, where he talked to workers about the need for the unions to break from the two capitalist parties and form an independent labor party.

Encouraged by the hearing they received in the Cleveland mayoral race, socialists plan to take these issues statewide with the campaign of John Powers for U.S. Senate. Powers, an activist in UAW Local 451, is running against incumbent Sen. John Glenn, a Democrat.

Powers told the rally, Glenn "is one of the most outspoken proponents of big business in the Senate. He is pro-nuclear power. He backs Carter's energy ripoff. And he is pro-military spending."

A key battle right now, Powers said, is the hard-fought strike by UAW Local 1741 at Bailey Meter. Powers has helped organize support for the strike in the UAW, and he pledged to continue that support as a candidate.

## Ohio ballot drive opens

CLEVELAND—A statewide gathering of auto workers, steelworkers, students, and other socialist-campaign supporters here mapped plans to place the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket and Socialist Workers senatorial candidate John Powers on the 1980 Ohio ballot.

This will be the first ballot effort of the Socialist Workers presidential campaign.

Beginning Saturday, October 6, petitioners will hit the streets of Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati, and many other Ohio cities to collect the 20,000 signatures necessary to obtain a ballot spot.

If you would like to help in the petitioning effort, contact the campaign committee headquarters in Cleveland, (216) 991-5030; Cincinnati, (513) 751-2636; or Toledo, (419) 536-0383.

## Hands off Nicaragua!

CLEVELAND—Norma Ruiz, a native of Nicaragua and a member of United Auto Workers Local 1747, gave greetings to the campaign rally here. She said in part:

"Because I was born in Nicaragua I know the trials and tribulations my country has gone through. The earliest memories of my youth were to see my people grow up with lice in their hair, with fleas that made our feet swell, with parasites in our stomachs."

"The U.S. government, just like one of those parasites, sucked the last drop of blood from the Nicaraguan people."

"The U.S. government is making

the scandal of the century with the story about Russian troops in Cuba. Like Fidel said, the North American government always knew about these troops in Cuba."

"We don't know if this is one of the North American government's tactics to make war against the Nicaraguan revolution or against any other country that is on this road, like in El Salvador."

"Long live Cuba, the pearl of the Caribbean!"

"Long live the Nicaraguan revolution!"

"Long live El Salvador!"

"And long live our brothers and sisters, the working masses of North America!"



Hear the  
Socialist  
Workers  
candidates



## LOS ANGELES

Why American Workers  
Need a Labor Party

Speakers:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP  
candidate for vice-president  
Olga Rodriguez, SWP National  
Committee

Saturday, October 13

2211 N. Broadway

Social hour 6:30 p.m.

Rally 8 p.m.

For more information call  
(213) 225-3126

## Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Oct. 7-9

St. Louis

Oct. 11-13

Boston

Oct. 15-16

Atlanta

## Matilde

Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Oct. 9-10

Los Angeles

Oct. 14-15

San Diego

Oct. 19-20

Minneapolis

## Other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Oct. 11-13

Portland

Oct. 15-20

Puget Sound

Oct. 21, 24-27

Baltimore

## Fred Halstead

Oct. 5-6

Pittsburgh

Oct. 8-13

Morgantown

## Héctor Marroquín

Oct. 6-10

Houston

Oct. 12-14

Detroit

Oct. 18-20

Indianapolis

(Marroquín's tour sponsored by Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003).

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 31 for phone numbers and addresses.

## Join the Socialist Workers Campaign!

How I  
Became  
A  
Socialist

Yes, I want to help.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_.
- ☐ Please send me a free packet of campaign material.
- ☐ Please send me the following:
  - copies of *How I Became a Socialist* by Andrew Pulley. 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more.
  - copies of *Bill of Rights for Working People* (English or Spanish). 3¢ each.
  - "Pulley for President" buttons, and
  - "Zimmermann for Vice President" buttons (with photos). 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more.
  - "Human Needs Before Profits" but-

tons, and \_\_\_\_\_ "Vote Socialist Workers" buttons. 50¢ each, 25¢ each for ten or more.

- "Pulley for President" posters, and
- "Zimmermann for Vice President" posters. 10¢ each, 8¢ each for ten or more.

Clip and mail to Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

JOIN US

# NOW and fight for equal rights

By Suzanne Haig

Working women are on the move. You can see it everywhere: in the plants, mills, rail yards, and offices.

Working women are looking to the unions and to the organized women's movement for help in the fight for equal rights and opportunities.

That's why the October 5-7 conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Los Angeles is so important.

And that's why NOW has scheduled conference workshops, speakers, and entertainment dealing with working women's problems.

While the number of working women is growing, their wages are shrinking. Inflation takes a heavy toll on women's pay, which is only 59 percent of what men earn.

And job opportunities are dwindling: in the current economic downturn, women are being laid off first, along with Blacks and Latinos.

NOW will have an opportunity at its national conference to discuss and take action on these and many other issues that affect women's lives.



Union contingent at NOW's July 9, 1978, march on Washington. United force of women's, labor and civil rights movements is needed to win ERA.

## Political upheavals

Major political developments have occurred in this country and around the world since NOW's last conference in October 1978. These events have put the fight for women's rights in a new framework. And they have helped bring forward new allies in our struggle.

In the past year, two hated dictators backed to the hilt by the U.S. government—the shah of Iran and Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua—were overthrown by massive popular rebellions.

The role women played in these revolutions was and continues to be an inspiring example to women in this country.

The NOW conference comes just days after President Carter's announcement that he will direct military moves against Cuba. These actions are aimed not just at Cuba, but at Nicaragua and any other nation that tries to shake itself loose from U.S. domination.

And while the U.S. military budget is likely to reach a staggering \$155 billion by next year, Carter and the Congress are axing needed social services supposedly because there is no money.

Our rights as women are a number one target of the government and the employers. The ERA is stalled. Abortion rights are under constant fire. Layoffs are undermining our affirmative action gains.

Women are also victims of inflation, the energy ripoff, and the rapidly spreading abuse of our environment.

But working people and women and Blacks are more and more fighting back.

We can see this particularly in the growing willingness to struggle for women's rights, a great cause for optimism for women attending the NOW conference.

The most prominent example of this

militancy was the August Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) conference in Richmond, Virginia. More than 500 trade unionists, NOW members, and civil rights supporters discussed how to win the ERA in Virginia.

The conference unanimously approved a proposal for a campaign in support of the ERA. It called for educational activities, a December 2-9 week of protests, and a January 13, 1980, march and rally in Richmond.

The conference was an exciting one for NOW members in particular. It echoed the theme of last year's NOW convention that women and labor *do* have common goals.

## 'Labor will gain'

"The entire labor movement will gain as women win equal rights," the LERN resolution explains. "The employers' attempts to divide workers by sex will be curbed; women will play an increasing role in the labor movement, adding their numbers and power to roll back the employers' anti-union offensive; the greater unity in our ranks will increase the unions' ability to win better wages, benefits and conditions for all members; and the labor movement will be in a stronger position to organize the unorganized."

Just as NOW's last conference reaffirmed there is an "ERA emergency," activists at the LERN conference discussed the need for emergency action to ratify the amendment. And they drew the lessons of the recent defeats for the ERA.

"The experience of the pro-ERA movement is that it has encountered defeat time after time when it placed too much reliance on the promises of politicians to get the Amendment passed," the resolution states.

"The lesson . . . is only the creation of a powerful movement, built at the grass roots and involving substantial

numbers of people, will pressure the politicians into casting their votes for the ERA. LERN's strategy is to create such a movement."

NOW—the largest women's rights organization—is crucial to building such a movement. Just as NOW led the way by calling the July 9, 1978, ERA demonstration, we have the opportunity again to be in the forefront of this campaign.

An endorsement for the Virginia actions from the national NOW conference would strengthen that important effort. It would put into action the resolution passed at the last NOW conference pledging cooperation "with the organized labor movement on our common goals and against our common enemy."

It could open the way for NOW to reach out to the Coalition of Labor Union Women and other organizations around the country in organizing an ERA educational campaign building up to the January march in Virginia.

Such common activities will help bring more women unionists into contact with NOW. Already these fighters are joining NOW in growing numbers.

A pledge to join the LERN campaign would be the best way NOW members could leave this national conference with a determined and optimistic spirit that the ERA can and will be won.

## Alliance with labor

The labor resolution passed at the last NOW conference also urged NOW to back union organizing efforts, to work to defeat so-called right-to-work laws, to support women workers fighting sex discrimination on the job, and to join the fight against the Weber suit challenging affirmative action.

Since then, NOW has helped defeat the antilabor right-to-work referendum in Missouri, local chapters have backed women unionists fighting sexual harassment on the job, and the organization as a whole joined with labor and the civil rights movement against the Weber suit challenging affirmative action.

This convention can discuss how to deepen these common efforts with labor. The affirmative action issue is especially important. NOW can help lead the fight against the new wave of layoffs that are hitting women, along with Blacks and Latinos, the hardest.

And the NOW gathering can move forward the fight on other crucial issues for women.

One centers around the current debate in the House and Senate over how much further to cut off funds for federally funded abortions, along with the continuing campaigns in state legislatures to restrict abortion rights.

The actions this September on the

anniversary of Margaret Sanger's birth, called by NOW, and the October 22-29 Abortion Rights Action Week coming up are good examples of the way to renew the fight for reproductive rights.

Along with this, the NOW conference should take a strong stand in favor of a mandatory thirty-day waiting period before women are sterilized.

Coming out squarely for the waiting period as a curb against sterilization abuse will further NOW's stature as a fighter for all women, especially Black and Latina victims of this vicious procedure.

This supposedly is the international Year of the Child, but in this country, child care is in crisis. It is an important issue for NOW.

## Oil ripoff

NOW can also add its weight to other important issues.

An October 17 national day of protest against the oil companies' ripoff has been endorsed by a broad list of unions and community groups. One of the two national sponsors is the Progressive Alliance, headed by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. NOW is a member of the Progressive Alliance.

The NOW national board of directors has already voted support for the October 14 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

The conference can also take a firm stand against reinstitution of the draft, in keeping with the antiwar position NOW adopted during the Vietnam war. And it can come out against the nuclear threat to humanity. Many NOW chapters have already been active in antinuclear protests and the Karen Silkwood case.

At this year's NOW conference, more than at any previous time, NOW members will be charting a course of action with a deep sense that we are not alone—that we are joined by growing numbers of working women, by the labor movement as a whole, in our fight.

It is in this spirit of a united struggle for women's equality that our discussions and conference decisions should take place. The fullest airing of all points of view, the most democratic discussion possible, will help us to build the kind of powerful, united movement women need.

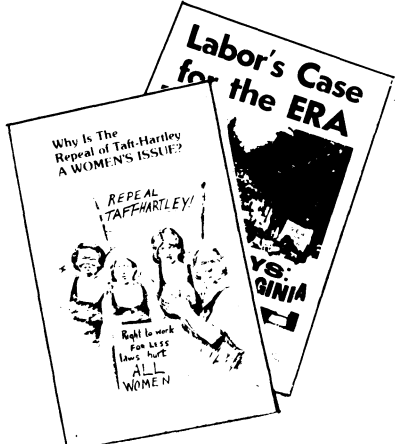
In her address to the August LERN conference, NOW President Eleanor Smeal pointed to the "new day when the Black and civil rights movement, labor, and the women's movement join hands." This conference can take NOW a big step forward toward making that day a reality.

## Spread them around

Two new pamphlets are available for women's rights supporters:

- *Labor's Case for the ERA*, put out by LERN, a coalition of the Virginia labor movement. Write or call LERN, 116 S. Third St., Richmond, Va. 23219 (804) 648-5801.

- *Why Is The Repeal of Taft-Hartley A Women's Issue?* put out by NOW. Write NOW Action Center, 425 Thirteenth St., NW #1001, Washington, D.C. 20004.





# N.J. women build Virginia ERA drive

By Linda Slodki

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.—The fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment got a boost September 23 when seventy-five unionists and other women's rights supporters met here.

The forum, titled "We're in this together—ratify the ERA," was sponsored by New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women and New Jersey National Organization for Women.

The featured speaker was Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and co-coordinator of Labor for Equal Rights Now. LERN recently sponsored a conference of 500 in Virginia, which called for an ERA march on Richmond on January 13. Virginia is one of fourteen unratified states.

Jane Wells-Schooley, national NOW board member and chair of the NOW ERA committee, also addressed the meeting here.

Participants came from more than fifteen unions including the United Auto Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Newark

*Linda Slodki is a member of Essex County NOW and New Jersey CLUW. She belongs to Local 800 of the United Transportation Union.*

Teachers Association, International Union of Electrical Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and Newark Teachers Union.

Members of New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia chapters of NOW also attended.

LERN co-coordinator Kelly told the meeting, "All of us thought achieving ratification was a sure thing. But then it began to slow down, opposition began to organize, and we found out almost too late that we had not developed the foundation and the organization we needed for ratification."

"We had not built the foundation in the Black community and in the Hispanic community that we needed. We had not taken the word of the ERA to the rank-and-file workers. We had not organized around ERA as the economic issue that we all know it really is."

"But now we're going to build that foundation."

Kelly spoke of the support activities planned for December 2-9 that will lead up to the ERA march and rally in Richmond on January 13.

"In the last year, ERA has been defeated in three states by two votes each—in North Carolina, in Florida, and in Illinois," she continued. "And in those cases they were the votes of politicians who supported and who had in fact been elected on platforms of support to the ERA. . . ."

"So now it seems clear and history shows us that every progressive movement—whether it be for civil rights, for women's suffrage, or labor organizing—has taken a mobilization to show how people really feel about an issue. That's what we believe LERN will be able to do."

Kelly reported that since the LERN conference, endorsement for the January 13 march has come from the recent convention of Region 4 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, representing 100,000 workers. Also five UFCW locals have adopted resolutions of support.

NOW leader Jane Wells-Schooley told the meeting here, "Our intention is to join our allies in labor to solve common problems, to fight common enemies, and to reach common goals." She said NOW's alliance with labor would lead to a unity that would strengthen both.

Wells-Schooley suggested that unionists could help get the ERA ratified by discussing it at local meetings; encouraging union attendance at ERA rallies, marches, and lobbying trips; and refusing to hold union conventions or to vacation in unratified states.

"You can work closely with your local NOW chapter or other groups working for the ERA," she said.

Wendy Berger, member of UAW Local 1668 in New Jersey and co-chairperson of UAW Region 9 Subcommittee on the ERA, also spoke at the

forum. She described the enthusiastic response she received in her local when she announced the Virginia ERA march. Her co-workers not only wanted more information, but they suggested making T-shirts and buttons and organizing education days to build the action.

After the meeting here, twenty UAW members got together informally to discuss ways that their union can build participation in January 13.

Rail workers also met to discuss union educational activities in the New York-New Jersey-Philadelphia area.

Since the meeting, Georgia Harris, head of the UAW Region 9 Women's Committee, has gotten the union's financial commitment for buses to Virginia and for printing ERA T-shirts.

The September 29 conference of Minnesota State NOW, attended by 425 people, voted to endorse the January 13 ERA demonstration in Richmond, Virginia.

The meeting was held in Willmar, Minnesota, to show support for the strike at the Willmar Citizens National Bank.

The resolution, proposed by the Iron Range NOW board of directors, resolved that "Minnesota State NOW call on its chapters to support and build the Dec. 2-9 local ERA actions and Jan. 13 national ERA demonstration in Richmond."

## Women have a choice in 1980 elections

The following is a statement by Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president.

Women are playing a bigger role in American politics today than ever before.

One of the biggest reasons for this is the rate—2 million a year—at which we're pouring into the workforce. This has had a big impact on women, as well as on men, helping to deepen the sentiment for women's rights.

Women's committees and conferences have sprung up in nearly every major union, taking on a host of problems and challenges. The Coalition of Labor Union Women is growing, as shown by its recent convention of more than 1,100. Women are playing a bigger role in their unions as a whole and in the struggles the labor movement is joining, such as those against nuclear power and the oil ripoff.

From battling the "right to work" laws to organizing the unorganized, women are more and more at the center of the big social issues.

One of these is the Equal Rights Amendment. The July 9, 1978, ERA march of 100,000 called by the National Organization for Women showed those who run this country that women and their allies are willing to fight for equal rights. It won us an extension of the ERA deadline until 1982.

In August of this year, more than 500 trade unionists and women's and civil rights activists attended a conference in Virginia sponsored by Labor for Equal Rights Now. This meeting called for an ERA march in Virginia on January 13, 1980.

United actions like this that draw upon the strength of the labor movement are needed to win the ERA by 1982, because the Democratic and Republican politicians have no intention of handing us any such victories unless forced to.

These capitalist politicians continue to sabotage the ERA, at the same time that they move forward with more attacks on abortion rights, affirmative action, and on desperately needed social services like child care.

This assault on women's rights is part of the overall offensive against working people. Inflation is running



Matilde Zimmermann talks about elections and ERA with participants at August 12 Labor for Equal Rights Now conference.

wild at a rate of more than 13 percent, while Democrat Carter insists workers settle for no more than 8 percent pay raises. Layoffs are hitting thousands, particularly newly hired women and Black workers.

Congress and Carter claim there is no money for health care, education, housing, or social security. But they're preparing to increase military spending and re-institute the draft.

Many women voted for Carter in

1976 because he said he was a friend of women's rights. But he has delivered us nothing.

Carter is not alone. It's the same with every Democratic and Republican politician.

Sen. Edward Kennedy and California Gov. Jerry Brown—two other contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination—are no different. Kennedy is notorious for his opposition to abortion and is a loyal member of the

congressional pack leading the assault against working people's rights.

We'll get nowhere fast if we pin our hopes on electing another Democratic or Republican "friend" in the 1980 elections.

Yet it's a gigantic problem that women—or Blacks or other working people—have no voice to represent us in politics. As John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, said in a Labor Day statement: "The two parties appear simply one institution, with Democratic and Republican departments alike financed by the corporate community."

My running mate Andrew Pulley and I agree. We believe working people should have an alternative in the 1980 elections. We will use the opportunities open to us with our campaign to rally support for the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and other working-class issues.

And we will talk everywhere we go about the need for working people to abandon the antilabor, anti-woman, anti-Black Democratic and Republican parties and form a labor party.

A labor party would be more than just a party to win votes during elections. It could mobilize the power of the labor movement to fight for the ERA, for jobs, against wars. With a labor party women and the women's movement would have a meaningful voice in politics.

And a labor party would point toward abolishing this rotten system we live under and replacing it with a workers government.

In revolutionary Cuba you can see what it means for women to have a workers government. Before the revolution, women were denied education and relegated to a few jobs.

Today, women can be found in every job—doctors, teachers, factory workers, and artists. Illiteracy has been virtually eliminated. Child-care centers throughout the island make it possible for women to work and attend school.

Cuba is an inspiring example for what will be possible for us to do in the United States when working people run this country.

This is the future that my party, the Socialist Workers Party, is fighting for.

### JOIN US!

Are you fed up with Democratic and Republican Party backstabbing on the ERA, reproductive rights, childcare, affirmative action?

Are you tired of these twin parties of big business bringing us more inflation, unemployment, energy rip-offs, attacks on our environment, and war?

Then you belong with the fighters for women's rights and the rights of

all working people in the Socialist Workers Party.

#### JOIN US!

Contact the SWP 1980 Presidential Campaign Committee

14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

- Send me more information on the SWP presidential campaign.
- Yes, I would like to join the SWP.
- Enclosed is \$2.50 for an introductory 10-week subscription to the Militant.

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## A growing force in labor movement

# Coalition of Labor Union



Founding CLUW conference in 1974. Participants adopted four goals: organizing unorganized, affirmative action, political action, and participation in unions.

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

### By Andrea Morell

NEW YORK CITY—The largest and most important of the series of union women's conferences to take place this year occurred here September 13-16. The event was the fourth national gathering of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Every woman unionist in the country—in fact the entire labor movement as well as women's groups like the National Organization for Women (NOW)—will be inspired by what the CLUW convention showed.

CLUW is the only national organization of trade union women. It spans more than sixty unions and involves many Black women in its leadership and membership. Nearly one third of the participants at this year's convention were Black.

CLUW is growing. The convention this year was twice as big as the last one.

### Roots of CLUW

Founded in 1974 at a conference of 3,200 women unionists in Chicago, CLUW's roots lie in the rise of women's liberation struggles in the late 1960s and the new consciousness this produced among working women. This consciousness has been more and more expressed by the desire of women to get the power of the labor movement behind their demands.

This desire is at the heart of CLUW's founding statement of purpose, which remains the organization's guide to action. The statement (reprinted here) outlines four goals for CLUW: organizing unorganized

women, affirmative action in the workplace, political action and legislation, and participation of women within their unions.

The statement explains that "The power of unions must increasingly be brought to bear" to achieve these goals.

The four objectives adopted at CLUW's founding remain the key goals of working women if they are to win equality. It is this program that is today bringing more union women into CLUW's ranks.

In her address to the convention, CLUW President Joyce Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers reported, "Our membership is higher today than ever before in our history. . . ." CLUW currently has thirty chapters and members belonging to all the major industrial unions as well as many others.

There were a total of 1,149 people attending the convention. Of these, 546 were delegates, 394 were observers who belong to CLUW, 149 were observers who are not CLUW members, and 60 were international guests.

The last convention, in 1977, had 600 women in attendance. About 200 at that convention were Black. This year between 300 and 400 Blacks attended.

### CLUW chapters

The national growth of CLUW is paralleled by increased activity of CLUW chapters locally, which has begun to attract new members. In Chicago, for instance, the CLUW chapter held a film showing of "With Babies and Banners" and 1,000 women turned out. In San Francisco a

CLUW forum this past summer on women in nontraditional jobs brought out 100 women.

New chapters of CLUW have been established in cities such as Omaha, Nebraska; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Youngstown, Ohio; and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

CLUW's expanding influence is a direct reflection of what is happening to women in the labor movement. The convention captured the impact of the two million women entering the workforce each year. It showed women workers are becoming more active in their unions and in women's rights struggles. And it demonstrated that unorganized women are equally determined to seek out labor support for their demands.

In just the past year, conferences have been held of women steelworkers, coal miners, communications workers, postal workers, and auto workers. Women's committees have been organized in many local unions.

On August 12, a coalition of unions met in Virginia and called for an action campaign through next January to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The conference was organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN).

Women's rights were also a key part of the first United Steelworkers civil rights conference, held last March.

### Economic crisis

The deepening political struggles of women workers, and the support they have received from their union brothers, comes in the context of the economic and political crisis all

working people face—from the energy ripoff to spiraling inflation and layoffs, from Carter's escalating war threats abroad to his attacks on Black and women's rights at home, from stalling on the ERA to union-busting "right to work" drives.

Since the last CLUW convention workers have responded to these attacks with increased militancy and anger. There was the 1978 coal miners strike and its example of workers fighting back. There was the 100,000-strong ERA demonstration called by NOW and supported by many unions. In the November 1978 elections, workers and their allies crushed a "right to work" initiative on the Missouri ballot. Not too long afterward, Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, marched onto the political scene with their organizing drive in which women and Blacks have played leading roles.

Each of these events has inspired women unionists. And each has also underscored the degree to which women workers and the entire labor movement are up against a common enemy—the employers and their government.

William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), made this a theme of his well-received address to the CLUW convention. Every political issue of the day, said Lucy, shows there are two sides in this society: the government, "which supports those who have always been in power," and the trade union movement, "which represents those clearly outside the power."

Things are not going to

change for the better, Lucy explained, until "the power of workers is brought to bear."

He showed how this applies in the struggle to organize the unorganized. The key is to educate the unorganized "to understand the difference between the management and the worker."

"Differences of age, color, male and female will make no difference if we understand our relation with the employer," he said.

Lucy blasted the war budget and called for increased spending for social programs. He encouraged CLUW to speak out and lead on this and other issues: "You and CLUW, we and CLUW, others and CLUW have a real role to play in shaping not just the labor movement in terms of involving women in the decision-making process, but shaping the thrust of that so that women can play the role in our society that they ought to."

He pledged full support to women's struggle for the ERA, equal opportunity, recognition of women in the leadership of the unions, against sexual harassment, and many other issues.

Lucy's remarks highlighted the close interrelationship between women and Black workers in the labor movement. Like CLUW, the CBTU reflects the aspirations of Black workers to participate fully in their unions and get labor power behind their demands.

This interrelationship was also noted in the CLUW officers' report, which explained that "CLUW stands at the crossroads of the labor move-

# Women marks gains

ment, the civil rights movement, and the women's movement today."

## Education session

The first two days of the CLUW convention were devoted to an education/training session offering a wide variety of workshops on issues of concern to women unionists.

There were two workshop sessions on the ERA. There were sessions on sex discrimination, race discrimination, reproductive rights, child care, safety and health in industrial jobs, health care, and family violence.

Other workshops included: "Non-Traditional Jobs: Getting In and Surviving"; "Fighting Sexism in Our Unions"; "Tips on Running for Union Office"; and "Running as Delegates to Political Party Conventions."

Everyone attending the conference was invited to participate and to speak in these workshops, whether or not they belonged to CLUW.

In addition to the issue workshops, members of each union represented held caucus meetings. And there were workshops organized for union officials, union staff members, and rank-and-file unionists.

The two-day decision-making convention that followed took up resolutions for action, constitutional amendments, and it elected national officers. It also heard speeches from invited union officials, political officeholders, and representatives of government agencies.

Outside the convention hall, scores of groups set up tables

where a great variety of literature was available. In addition to tables from various CLUW chapters and unions, other groups sponsoring tables included: A. Philip Randolph Institute; Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse; Catholics for Free Choice; Feminist Press; National Abortion Rights Action League; Shad Alliance, an antinuclear group; Women's Strike for Peace; and Women's Occupational Health and Resource Center.

## ERA

The fight for the Equal Rights Amendment was uppermost on delegates' minds throughout the convention. Whenever speakers mentioned the ERA, they drew loud applause. The ERA was seen as a vital women's issue and as a class issue, a key demand of the entire labor movement.

Activists in the LERN coalition found a very warm response from participants to the plans for a January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia, and related education and action projects around ERA. At LERN's August 12 conference, CLUW activist Marge Rachlin, of the George Meany Labor Studies Center, had presented greetings.

Eight hundred resolutions urging CLUW's support to the LERN campaign were snapped up by convention participants, as was every available copy of LERN's pamphlet "Labor's Case for the ERA."

The resolution and pamphlet were prominently featured on



Militant/Nancy Cole  
**CLUW President Joyce Miller.**  
'Our membership is higher today than ever before.'

the table of New Jersey CLUW, which a week later cosponsored with New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW) a meeting on the LERN activities.

The first ERA workshop held at the convention discussed the LERN campaign at length. Participants felt strongly about the proposal and the workshop endorsed it.

During the plenary session of the convention, Chris Hildebrand of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in New Jersey reported to delegates on CLUW's work in that state to support the Virginia campaign.

## Priority for CLUW

The convention reaffirmed that the ERA fight is a priority for CLUW. A discussion also took place on the best way to win the ERA.

The resolution brought before delegates by the resolutions committee, and later passed, emphasized getting "pro-ERA" candidates into office and defeating "anti-ERA" candidates as the key way to ratify the ERA.

Sarah Lovell, delegate from the International Typographical Union in New York, warned against this approach. She cited the betrayals by Democratic and Republican candidates who have promised to support the ERA and then helped defeat it. "We've been sold out so many times," she said. "So we can't rely on them."

Lovell pointed to NOW's July 9, 1978, demonstration for the ERA, which led to winning extension of the ERA deadline until 1982. It was a similar campaign of action that won suffrage, she reminded delegates.

"That's why I'm overjoyed by what is being done in Virginia," Lovell continued. "There we have a pro-ERA movement initiated by labor. CLUW needs to do what is being done in Virginia."

Her remarks got loud applause.

## Affirmative action

The convention also took up the important question of affirmative action.

A resolution was adopted that strongly urged greater women's participation in the official bodies of their unions. This was a deeply felt issue on everyone's part, because of the tiny number of women who are



Militant/John Hawkins  
**Coalition of Black Trade Unionists President William Lucy.**  
Political change will come about only when 'power of workers is brought to bear.'

in the elected union leadership today, and the need for women to play a central leadership role if the unions are to be mobilized behind women's rights.

The resolution was even amended to include a demand for quotas to insure representation of women based on their numbers in the unions.

The resolution also took up the union movement's successful fight to defeat the anti-affirmative-action, antilabor suit by Brian Weber. It said:

"The Steelworkers' Weber case, in which CLUW filed a supporting brief with the Supreme Court, demonstrates that affirmative action pro-

*Continued on next page*

## CLUW's Statement of Purpose

Following is the Statement of Purpose of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Written into CLUW's constitution, it was adopted at the organization's founding conference in 1974 and has been the political framework for CLUW's work ever since.

*Of the 41 million women in the workforce—almost 6 million women are members of unions. It is imperative that within the framework of the union movement we take aggressive steps to more effectively address ourselves to the critical needs of 35 million unorganized sisters and to make our unions more responsive to the needs of all women, especially the needs of minority women who have traditionally been singled out for particularly blatant oppression.*

*Women unionists work in almost every industry, in almost every part of the country. Despite their geographical, industrial and occupational separations, union women share common concerns and goals.*

*Full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force require the full attention of the labor movement . . . and especially, the full attention of women who are part of the labor movement.*

*The primary purpose of this new national coalition is to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine, first—our common problems and concerns and,*

*second—to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives. Through unity of purpose, the Coalition of Labor Union Women will seek to accomplish these goals. We recognize that our struggle goes beyond the borders of this nation and seek to link up with our working sisters and brothers throughout the world through concrete action.*

## Organizing unorganized women

Since less than 12 percent of the women in today's labor force are enrolled in labor unions, it is obvious that most working women are suffering economically. Statistics clearly demonstrate that the union member enjoys higher wages, better fringe benefits and working conditions and greater job security than the unorganized worker.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women seeks to promote unionism and to encourage unions to be more aggressive in their efforts to bring unorganized women under collective bargaining agreements, particularly in those areas where there are large numbers of unorganized and/or minority women.

CLUW will seek to create a greater awareness of the benefits of union membership. Within our intra, inter, and emerging union structures, we will work to encourage nonunion women to join us in the trade-union movement.

## Affirmative action in the workplace

Employers continue to profit by dividing workers on sexual, racial, and age lines. This encourages the segregation of job classifications and results in wages and benefit losses to women. The power of the unions must increasingly be brought to bear, through the process of collective bargaining, to correct these inequities.

The Coalition will seek to encourage women, through their unions, to recognize and take positive action against job discrimination in hiring, promotion, classification and other aspects of work.

Women must learn what their rights are under the law. We must become more knowledgeable of the specifics of collective bargaining; and of the contract clauses and workplace practices which discriminate against us. We must be informed about what is and can be done within the labor movement to correct these situations.

We seek to educate and inspire our union brothers to help achieve affirmative action in the workplace.

## Political action and legislation

It is imperative that union women, through action programs of the Coalition, become more active participants in the political and legislative processes of our unions.

Movements for full employment and job opportunities and shorter work weeks without loss of pay, child care legislation, a liveable minimum wage for all workers, improved maternity and pension benefits, improved health and safety coverage, expanded educational opportunities; mass action for final ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), guaranteed collective bargaining rights for all workers, the right to strike, and an extension of truly protective legislation for all workers, are only a few of the political action programs in which CLUW must participate.

Whenever or wherever possible, CLUW urges union women to seek election to public office or selection for governmental appointive office at local, county, state and national levels.

## Participation of women within their unions

The Coalition seeks to inspire and educate union women to insure and strengthen our participation, to encourage our leadership and our movement into policy-making roles within our own unions and within the union movement in all areas.

The Coalition supports the formation of women's committees and women's caucuses within labor unions at all levels, wherever necessary. Additionally the Coalition will encourage democratic procedures in all unions.



# ...CLUW

Continued from preceding page

vides a benefit for white male members as well as minorities and women. Prior to the commencement of the affirmative action plan, the Kaiser Aluminum Company did not have training programs to promote production workers into the skilled trades and all jobs were filled by hiring new applicants.

"The training program negotiated by the Steelworkers required that all skilled trades jobs held by minorities and women in the plant was equal to the percentage of minorities and women in the plant as a whole. The result was that white male employees, as well as minority and women employees, obtained jobs from which they had previously been barred. The Weber case vividly demonstrates that affirmative action can be good for all workers."

This section of the resolution, hailing the protection of the affirmative-action quota plan in the *Weber* case, marked a step forward for CLUW. The use of quotas to insure job rights for women and minorities has been the subject of a long discussion in CLUW. At its last convention delegates were unable to get a resolution condemning the *Bakke* suit onto the floor for discussion. *Bakke* attacked quotas for minorities in university admissions.

This year a resolution from the Chicago CLUW chapter and others sought to put CLUW on record as favoring quotas to guarantee affirmative action. A section of this resolution was introduced as an amendment to the resolution that eventually passed. The amendment included a proposal that CLUW "support special steps undertaken to insure Affirmative Action in the workplace such as special Affirmative Action quotas in hiring, training, promotions and lay-offs." It also urged CLUW to encourage all unions to negotiate in contracts "specific numerical and percentage goals and quotas" for affirmative action training programs.

The amendment unfortunately failed, but there was considerable interest in this question, particularly as it relates to the current layoffs and the bosses' misuse of seniority to lay off disproportionate numbers of Blacks and women.

William Lucy addressed this problem directly in his speech. Calling it the "last in, first out" phenomenon, he said, "We've got to revise this kind of thinking. We can't say the traditional hard-line position on seniority holds up any more when you know full well that those who are the most dispo-

sessed in our society will suffer as a result."

Organizing the unorganized was a central theme of the entire convention. One of the high points of the four-day meeting was a demonstration in support of Abraham & Straus department store workers who are fighting to be represented by the Retail, Wholesale, & Department Store Union.

The CLUW members packed into twelve buses for the ride to A&S's store in Brooklyn. There they picketed along with other unionists against the company's antiunion policies. CLUW President Miller addressed a rally along with other union officials and three of the A&S workers.

The convention passed an important resolution on organizing the unorganized. It called for "urging and encouraging our unions to establish as a top priority the organizing of the tremendous numbers of women who need the benefits of collective bargaining."

It pointed to the need for the unions to hire more women and minority organizers and to train them in the special problems of women workers. And it called for CLUW to hold a National "Organizing the Unorganized" Conference in 1980.

Among those active in unionization drives who were present at the convention was Teamster organizer Vicki Saporta. Her union has won several recent elections in North Carolina. She heads up national CLUW's committee on organizing the unorganized.

Another resolution that passed called for "equal pay for work of comparable value." Noting that most women are segregated into low-paying jobs, it urged a campaign "to reevaluate women's jobs according to their 'real worth' without regard to sex so that the wage rates paid will truly reflect skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions."

## Reproductive rights

CLUW reaffirmed its strong stand on reproductive rights. The convention passed a resolution committed to: "1) the right of every woman to decide whether and when to bear children; 2) the right to learn about and use safe, effective birth control; 3) the right to choose to have a safe, legal abortion without discrimination based on ability to pay; 4) the right to be free of sterilization abuse; and 5) the right of all women workers to work in an environment that is free of hazards to themselves and future children."

Significantly, CLUW also endorsed the October 22-29 Abortion Rights Action Week, sponsored by a coalition that includes the National Abortion

Rights Action League, Planned Parenthood, and the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse.

## Undocumented workers

A major victory was won when the convention went on record in defense of undocumented workers. A resolution backed by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) passed by a big majority. It called for amnesty for undocumented workers, urged the unions to organize these co-workers, and denounced government raids of factories and shops where these immigrant workers are employed.

ILGWU delegate Evelyn Dubrow gave a stirring speech on the plenary floor, explaining how the government and employers have tried to divide and weaken the labor movement by pitting workers who are U.S. citizens against those without papers. Undocumented workers are *not* the enemy, nor the cause of unemployment, she declared. The unions must come to the defense of these sisters and brothers.

The resolutions committee had originally not reported this resolution out to the floor. But repeated requests from delegates to discuss this important question succeeded in getting it on the agenda.

The seriousness with which delegates viewed this issue of solidarity with the undocumented was another sign of CLUW's ability to play a leadership role in the labor movement. CLUW's defense of immigrant workers sets an example for all the unions, showing how to combat the divide-and-rule strategy of labor's enemies.

Another statement of solidarity was expressed in a resolution passed in favor of amnesty for 200 postal workers fired for a 1978 work stoppage in New Jersey and California. The committee defending the workers had a table up during the convention.

Many other important resolutions were also passed—on child-care, occupational health and safety, sexual harassment, health care, social security, older women, and a shorter work week.

Delegates vigorously supported a proposal denouncing the closing of hospitals. "They're shutting them down in our neighborhoods," one Black delegate declared.

A number of other resolutions which did not come to the floor indicate the breadth of political issues on CLUW members' minds, from the energy crisis and the need to open the books of the oil trusts, to the draft, SALT II, nuclear power, and a labor party.

## Blacks & PLO

Toward the end of the plenary, Louise Smothers, head of the Minority Committee, brought before the convention a serious matter of labor's ties with the Black movement. Smothers is from the American Federation of Government Employees.

Smothers reported that a memo was circulating, signed by Olga Madar, past president of CLUW and now its president emerita.

The memo reprinted a newspaper clipping about the NAACP board of director's call for a Palestinian homeland and for negotiations between the United States and the Pal-



Militant/Lou Howort  
CLUW convention set example for labor by defending rights of undocumented workers. ILGWU delegates spoke out on importance of solidarity resolution.

estine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Beneath the clipping was a note to the Minority Committee from Madar concerning the fact that the NAACP has slated its next convention for Florida, an unratified ERA state.

The Minority Committee is in the process of urging the NAACP not to hold its convention in Florida and to observe the boycott of unratified states.

Madar's memo implied the Minority Committee had let CLUW down because it had not yet persuaded the NAACP to move its convention to a state that has passed the ERA. The memo tried to link the NAACP's call for a dialogue with the Palestinians with its unfortunate decision to hold a meeting in Florida.

"... those of us who hold membership in the NAACP, as well as in CLUW and the Unions which help support the NAACP financially, apparently did not have sufficient 'dialogue' with the leadership of the NAACP to influence their recent decision on their 1980 convention site," the memo commented.

Black delegates and others were outraged at this attack on the Minority Committee, which was also an attack on the right of Blacks to speak out on foreign policy.

Earlier in the convention Tamar Elder, invited as a guest speaker from the Israeli Embassy, falsely portrayed Israel as a prolabor society where women have achieved equality.

But the discussion over the Madar memo, most of which took place informally, more accurately reflected the direction in which many in the labor movement, especially Black unionists, are moving. Solidarity with the Palestinians and opposition to Israel's aggressive policies are on the rise.

Another significant demonstration of international solidarity was the fact that sixty CLUW members signed petitions during the convention to free the fourteen Socialist Workers Party members in Iran.

At the close of the convention, new officers were elected.

This year two new vice-president posts were added. Pat Halpin of the American Federation of Teachers and Gwen Newton of the Office and Professional Employees International Union were elected to these posts.

All the other officers were re-elected. They are: Joyce Miller, president; Addie Wyatt of the United Food and Commercial Workers, executive vice-president; Georgia McGhee of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Clara Day of the Teamsters, vice-presidents; Gloria Johnson of the International Union of Electrical Workers, treasurer; Odessa Komer of the United Auto Workers, corresponding secretary; and Patsy Fryman of the Communications Workers, recording secretary.

## Building CLUW

Convention participants left here with confidence that CLUW will play an increasingly important role in the fight for women's rights and all of labor's battles. Building CLUW into a strong union women's organization was an important theme of the whole four days.

Women unionists who do not yet belong to CLUW should help in this process. Joining CLUW and helping build its local chapters will strengthen efforts to build women's committees in the unions, to organize unorganized women, and to bring the power of the unions to bear on all women's problems.

One of the biggest opportunities to do this will be around the LERN ERA campaign, which several CLUW chapters are already involved in.

Organizations like NOW will also benefit from CLUW's leading role in forging an alliance between the unions and the women's movement.

As CLUW becomes more powerful it will help develop the kind of labor movement that can beat back the employers and their government. An important aspect of this will be CLUW's contributions in bringing forward a new layer of labor leaders who are women—fighting women.

## For more information

Women unionists who want to join the Coalition of Labor Union Women and find out more about the CLUW chapter nearest them can write to National CLUW at 15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 777-5330.

CLUW has available a pamphlet on *Working Women Today* that includes valuable statistics and information on the problems of

women in the workforce. Copies can be obtained from the CLUW national office for 25 cents each or 20 cents each for orders of 50 or more.

You can subscribe to *CLUW News*, the organization's quarterly newsletter, by writing to the national office. Subscriptions are free with membership dues, or \$5 a year for nonmembers of CLUW.



# international Socialist review

## Building a Revolutionary Workers Party in the 1980s



Steelworker Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate in 1980, speaks to workers at Ford's River Rouge plant in Detroit.

Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

### Introduction:

## Imperialism's War Drive Against Working People

This month the 'International Socialist Review' is publishing the political resolution adopted at the August 1979 convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Because of the resolution's length, two of its major sections will be published separately in next week's 'Militant.' These sections provide the international framework for the analysis of U.S. politics contained in this issue.

One of the two sections to be run next week analyzes recent developments in the détente relations between U.S. imperialism and the bureaucratic castes that have usurped political power in the Soviet and Chinese workers states. It

describes the deepening crisis of world Stalinism, and contrasts the counterrevolutionary policies of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies to the growing role in world politics of the revolutionary anti-imperialist course of the Castro leadership in Cuba.

The other section, which will be briefly summarized in this introductory article, explains that the offensive by the U.S. ruling class against working people—at home and abroad—is a product of the weakening position of American imperialism. Underlying this is the developing world capitalist economic crisis, which was dramatically accelerated by the 1974-75

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# ...war drive

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worldwide economic depression—the first since 1938.

This coincided with the sweeping away in April 1975 of the corrupt proimperialist regime in Saigon by the Vietnamese liberation forces. Washington's aggression in Indochina had inspired the growth of a massive antiwar movement in the United States. Together with the heroic resistance by the workers and peasants of Indochina, this movement finally forced the withdrawal of all U.S. ground troops in 1973. And it blocked any last-minute moves two years later to save Washington's clients in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in the Indochina war was, as the resolution points out, "an event as great if not greater in its impact on mass consciousness as the Great Depression."

The victory in Indochina was followed by a series of big advances for working people and defeats for imperialism in key strategic areas.

In late 1975 and early 1976, Cuban troops helped defeat a South African invasion of Angola—an operation carried out by the apartheid regime in direct collusion with Washington. This victory helped set off mass struggles by the Black urban population in South Africa and seriously undermined the white-ruled settler regime in Zimbabwe.

In February-March 1978 the Ethiopian government, supported by 20,000 Cuban troops, drove back an imperialist-inspired invasion from Somalia. The invasion was aimed at crushing the Ethiopian revolution, which had carried out sweeping reforms, including the most extensive land reform ever instituted in Africa.

In April 1978, basing itself on the mobilizations of the urban masses of Ho Chi Minh City (previously Saigon), the Vietnamese government put an end to capitalism in the southern half of the country. Under relentless economic and military pressure from U.S. imperialism, the Hanoi government moved to topple the capitalist tyranny of Pol Pot in Kampuchea and stood off a military assault by Washington's Stalinist allies in Peking. Despite hunger and continued war, the Indochinese revolutions continue to deepen.

In February 1979, an insurrection by the Iranian workers and toilers put an end to the bloody dynasty of the shah, a pillar of Washington's domination in that part of the world. The capitalist Khomeini-Bazargan government has not been able to crush the mass ferment, despite its intensifying repression.

And in July 1979, the Somoza regime in Nicaragua—installed more than four decades ago by U.S. imperialism—was also toppled. Under the leadership of the Sandinistas, the Nicaraguan masses have opened the road that can lead to the triumph of the second socialist revolution in this hemisphere.

Each of these upheavals threatens the vital interests of the U.S. imperialist rulers. Yet they have been blocked from directly using U.S. military forces by the massive antiwar attitudes of American working people.

"No more Vietnams!" is an idea that has taken firm root among millions who learned from experience that working people have nothing to gain and everything to lose from Washington's suppression of working people in other countries.

The U.S. rulers have not responded to their



Militant/Gary Bridges

**Sandinistas mobilize to defend revolution in Nicaragua**

difficulties with passive resignation. They have launched a two-pronged offensive aimed at making working people pay the price of overcoming imperialism's growing problems.

They have launched an offensive against the living standards, job security, working conditions, and unions of American working people. Their aim is to jack up their profit rate and make U.S. goods more competitive in the world market.

But the imperialist offensive is also aimed at expanding the markets for U.S. goods and capital—and that means driving back the advances by workers and farmers in the semi-colonial world and ultimately restoring capitalism in the fourteen workers states.

"To recoup ground lost to the workers and oppressed around the world," the resolution states, "Washington must be able to use its full arsenal of political, economic, and military weapons. The drive toward war is a permanent feature of U.S. foreign policy." The Carter administration must seek to wear down opposition at home to the use of U.S. military forces abroad. And it must build up its nuclear military might to new heights.

Washington's war drive is most apparent today in the threats launched against Cuba on the transparent pretext that a few Soviet troops are there. Revolutionary Cuba is not the only target of these blasts from Washington. They are aimed at preparing U.S. public opinion for a major step-up in the U.S. naval presence in the Caribbean, in arms shipments to dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala threatened by popular unrest, and in moves against the deepening Nicaraguan revolution.

The "hate Vietnam" propaganda spewed forth by the U.S. government and capitalist media has

similar motives. The lies blaming Vietnam for the plight of the "boat people" and the famine in Kampuchea—rather than Washington's refusal to provide food and other reconstruction aid to the peoples of Indochina—are aimed at preparing new military moves against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. Under this cover, arms are being shipped to the military dictatorship in Thailand—many of which are then funneled to the Pol Pot murder gangs fighting the new government in Kampuchea.

The Carter administration's efforts to blame Arab oil-producing countries for rising fuel prices—and the hints of military action to stop "Arab price-gouging"—are cut from the same cloth.

The U.S. war drive is also expressed in the steady escalation in military spending and development of new and hideous nuclear weaponry.

But Carter has failed to break down the popular resistance to U.S. war moves and suspicion of U.S. foreign policy aims. Unlike the 1960s, when students comprised the vast bulk of antiwar activists, today working people and the unions would be involved in such a movement from the outset.

This is clear from the changes among industrial workers and their unions explained in the resolution.

Unions have been involved from the start in the struggle against nuclear power. Officials of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists have demanded cuts in the war budget to support social programs.

Frenzied denunciations of Vietnam failed to eradicate the belief among many workers that the Carter administration was behind Peking's invasion of Vietnam.

Significant sections of the Cuban community in the United States are now pressing for an end to the U.S. economic and diplomatic blockade of Cuba.

Reflecting the massive pro-Palestinian sentiment in the Black community, Black leaders have met with leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, denounced the Israeli government's crimes in Lebanon, and called for recognition of the PLO and a Palestinian state. This is a heavy blow to Carter's plans in the Mideast.

Working people increasingly recognize U.S. war moves as an attack on their most fundamental interests. As the resolution explains:

"These war preparations are central to the offensive against the American labor movement by the bipartisan ruling class, whose goal is to beat down wages and living standards, lower workers' expectations, and chip away at the democratic rights the masses need to resist the employers. If the Carter administration succeeds in its aim, working people will have to pay—through higher taxes, drastic cuts in spending for 'butter' and increases in spending for guns, 'equality of sacrifice' wage controls at contract time, more speedup and forced overtime, and a further erosion of union democracy and union strength.

"Workers will also pay with their lives, as they did in World Wars I and II, Korea, and Vietnam—with Black and Latino workers again dying in disproportionately high numbers."

As the revolutionary struggles of working people around the world deepen, so will the counterrevolutionary response of U.S. imperialism—up to and including threatening the world with nuclear destruction. Because of that, the fate of humanity depends on the success of American working people in disarming U.S. imperialism through the establishment of a workers government.

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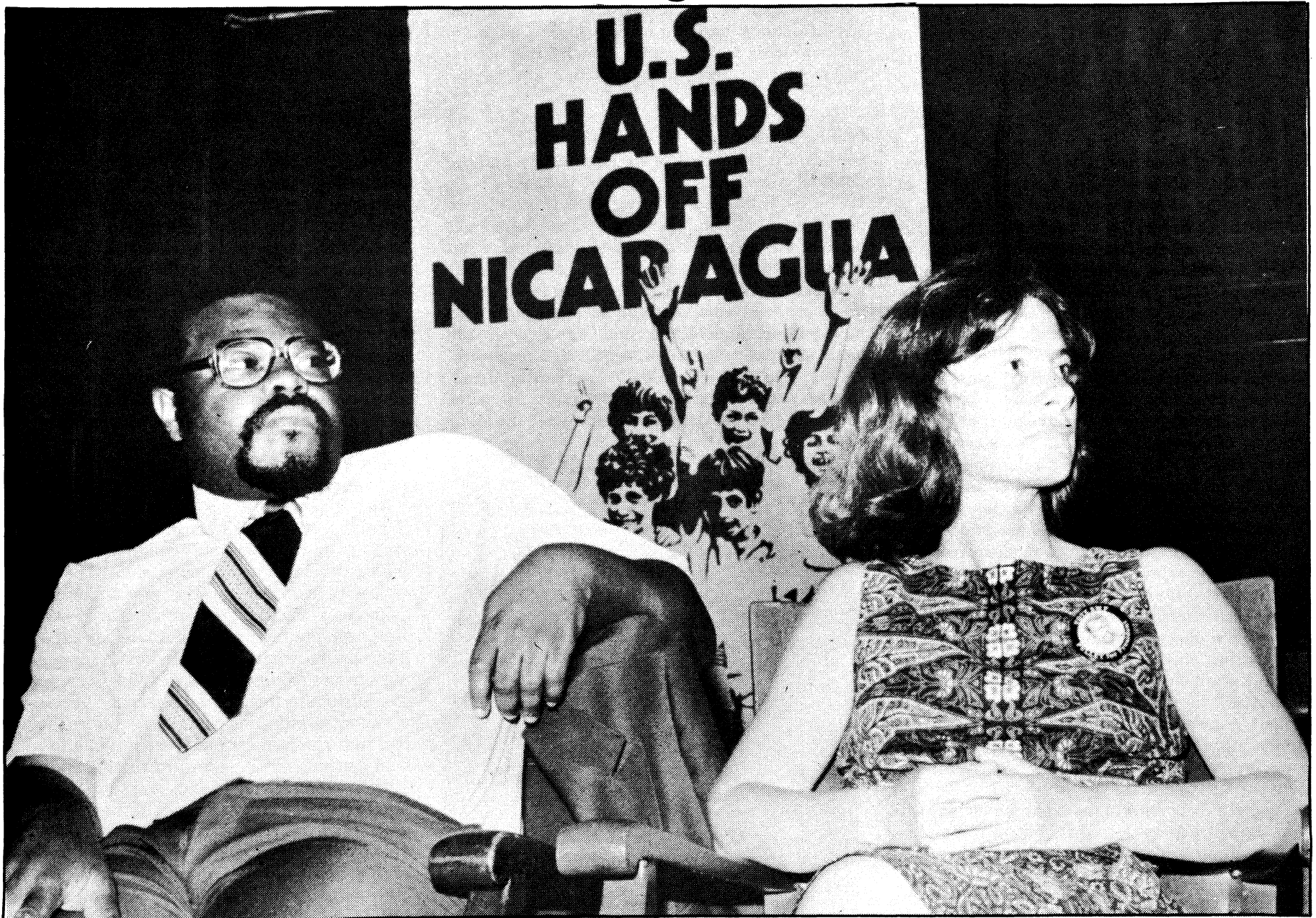
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# Building a Revolutionary Workers Party in the 1980s



Socialist Workers Party candidates Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

Militant/Lou Howort

## I. PERSPECTIVES FOR THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN THE 1980s

1. During the years of cold war and political reaction following World War II, the American labor movement went into a political retreat as a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy consolidated its hold on the unions. Modest but real wage increases and "fringe benefits" were negotiated as the postwar economic expansion unfolded. In exchange, the bureaucracy collaborated with the employers and the government to gut the unions as fighting instruments. The workers were bound in red tape. Union democracy was strangled. Control over job conditions was rolled back. The needs of the unorganized workers and labor's allies among the other exploited and oppressed sections of the population were ignored. Their demands and the fight to win broad social programs for the working class were subordinated to the needs of the bosses' two-party system. The anti-working-class foreign policy of U.S. imperialism, including the drafting of young American workers to die in the wars against the Korean and Vietnamese peoples, was supported by the top union officialdom.

For almost a third of a century, this conservative bureaucracy blocked the unions from participating in, much less leading, important social and political battles. Growing numbers of organized workers accepted the argument of the labor bureaucracy that class collaboration was the road to prosperity and security and that the sole function of the unions was to bargain for periodic wage hikes and "fringes" for their members. These workers saw little connection between their desire for better living standards and job conditions, and most progressive social and political protests.

The class struggle grew sharper in the 1960s and early 1970s. This was initiated by and expressed through the Black civil rights strug-

gles, and the rise of nationalist consciousness, followed by waves of ghetto rebellions; and then the anti-Vietnam War movement, Chicano struggles, and the women's liberation movement. But fighters in these battles were forced to detour around the union movement because of the roadblock thrown up by the labor bureaucracy. They had to organize against the opposition of the labor officialdom, which not only defended the domestic and foreign policies of the imperialists but denounced and slandered uncompromising leaders of struggles against their policies.

To millions of radicalized young activists, including industrial workers, the class-struggle strategy of transforming the labor movement into a fighting instrument mobilizing the working class in battle against exploitation and oppression seemed utopian. The fundamental class conflict underlying all politics was successfully camouflaged.

The working class did not participate through its basic class institutions—the unions—in the social protest movements of the 1960s and early 1970s. However, these struggles had a profound impact on the attitudes of millions of workers and changed the entire political framework and relationship of class forces in this country.

Today, this changing social consciousness among American workers and their growing desire to fight back against the rulers' austerity offensive make it possible to begin tearing down the bureaucracy's roadblock and drawing the ranks of the labor movement into political action. The workers' growing need to take hold of their unions and use them to resist the attacks on their living standards and job conditions, combined with the radicalizing influence of movements of social protest originating outside the union movement, will mark the class struggle in the 1980s. This combination of economic and social struggles will be at the center of the battle to transform the unions into organizations of mass political combat.

2. Through their austerity and antiunion drive of the past half-decade, the rulers still hold the offensive in the class struggle. The employers, their government, and their two political parties have shifted the axis of capitalist politics rightward.

But the underlying reality is that a class polarization is sharpening. An upswing in the combativity of American workers followed the initial shock of the 1974-75 depression. The industrial working class and its unions are being forced to the center of the fightback and radicalization process today.

As the employers press their antilabor drive, the union officialdom's capacity to prevent the resistance of the workers is declining. It is less able to isolate workers from each other, from their allies among the oppressed, and from the influence of social protest movements. Despite the buffer of the bureaucracy, the employing class is beginning to come up against the power and determination of the ranks.

3. In the increasingly frequent skirmishes against the bosses, stalemates and setbacks still outnumber victories. The workers are discovering how seriously their unions have been weakened by decades of "labor-management cooperation" and isolation from the struggles of their allies and much of their class.

As a result, more and more workers are beginning to learn the necessity of solidarity within the labor movement and with its allies. They are beginning to learn that union democracy is necessary to organize and unleash union power. They are beginning to learn that even the shrewdest tactics on the picket line or at the bargaining table are undercut by political obstacles, including the direct intervention of the capitalist government. They are beginning to discover that the labor movement needs an entirely new strategy.

Workers are beginning to look for a program and a leadership that can point the way out of



the class collaborationist straitjacket the bureaucracy has strapped on the unions.

4. The blows to the rights and living conditions of the oppressed, especially since the 1974-75 depression, have spotlighted the growing inadequacies of the petty-bourgeois leaderships that dominate the major organizations of oppressed national minorities and women. Unable to chart an effective course of action to fight for the needs of Blacks, Latinos, and women, the current misleaders have brought these struggles to an impasse. As a result of the tightening competitive squeeze on American capitalism and its resulting austerity offensive, greater social power is needed to defend past gains or conquer new ones as we enter the 1980s.

In search of a road out of this impasse, many fighters are being forced to turn to the labor movement and demand that it use union power in the fight against discrimination and its effects. At the same time, growing numbers of unionists are beginning to understand that they need allies outside the unions; that action by oppressed national minorities and women in defense of their needs weakens the employers and advances the unity and interests of the working class.

This growing interaction will be one of the distinctive features of the American class struggle. It creates new opportunities to bring the power of the unions into the struggles of Blacks, Latinos, and women. It creates new possibilities to involve workers in these struggles and develop the proletarian leadership needed to take them forward. It creates a more favorable political atmosphere for the fight to defend and extend democratic rights, shut down nuclear reactors, prevent imperialist wars, and achieve other progressive social goals.

New leaders of these struggles and organizations of the oppressed must and will come from the working class and industrial unions. These Black, Latino, and women leaders will also play a crucial role in the struggle to replace the current misleaders of labor and transform the unions into instruments of class struggle—into a powerful movement of workers who think socially and act politically.

The fight to transform the labor movement will both inspire and take inspiration from the massive social protest movements and mobilizations that will mark the 1980s.

5. Although no significant wing of the labor movement is yet crystallizing around a class-struggle program, the forces and the understanding necessary for such a left wing are being forged in the ranks of the unions today, especially the industrial unions. The breadth of the social and political tasks confronting the working class has grown with historic delay of the proletarian revolution. Thus a class-struggle left wing in the unions today must be built around a program that is more sweeping in the issues it addresses than could have been envisioned during previous upsurges of the American labor movement.

The workers who adopt this class-struggle perspective will have to chart a course breaking from subordination to the capitalist two-party system and build a labor party based on the unions.

Black and Latino workers will play a vanguard role in forging this class-struggle left wing. This is because of the increased weight of Blacks and Latinos in the industrial working class; the reinforcement of their class consciousness by nationalist self-confidence; and their direct stake in the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

While women still comprise a much smaller percentage of the industrial working class than Blacks or Latinos, their numbers are growing. The combativity and self-confidence of women workers are heightened by the battles they have fought to break into jobs previously closed to them; the vast changes in social consciousness of both men and women; and the direct stake that women, too, have in eliminating discrimination. Thus women workers will also play a vanguard role in forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions.

For these reasons, the revolutionary party in this country must be multinational, not only in membership but at all levels of leadership. It must also have a strong component of leaders who are women. Without a composition that reflects the young vanguard fighters of the working class, no party can unify the American workers around a revolutionary program and lead them to political power. Without a proletarian orientation, a party with such a composition

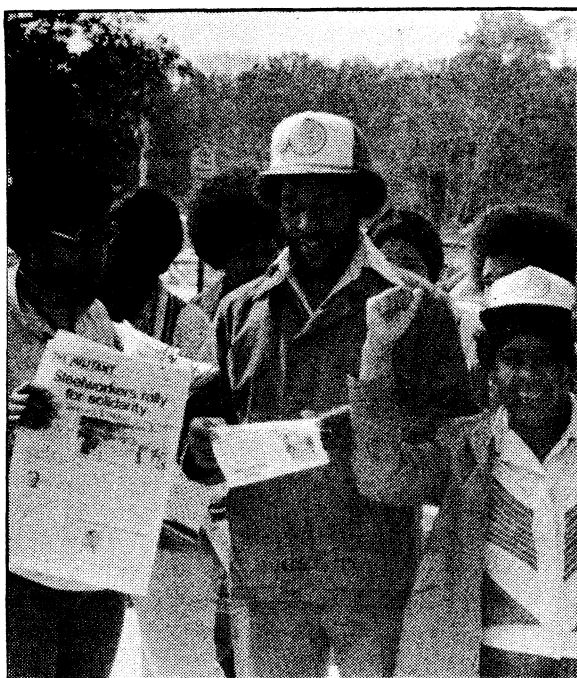
cannot be built.

6. In February 1978, the Socialist Workers Party National Committee voted unanimously to "subordinate everything else to immediately organizing to get a large majority of the membership of the Socialist Workers Party into industry and the industrial trade unions. . . . This is the entire framework of the party's activity in the immediate future—beginning now."

In the brief period since that decision, the party has made significant progress in carrying out this turn. Our branches are building industrial fractions and organizing more and more political work through them. The SWP is becoming a workers party in composition and day-to-day activity.

The experiences of our industrial fractions and events in the class struggle here and abroad confirm the timeliness of the party's turn and the political assessment on which it is based.

The SWP is subordinating everything else to deepening and completing the turn. As we get more of our members and leaders into industrial fractions, the party is beginning to draw together a Marxist tendency in the American labor movement: workers who read the socialist press and increasingly understand and agree with the basic Marxist premises of the SWP. These workers want to join with SWP co-workers to democratize and strengthen their unions to better defend the workers' interests, to involve the labor



Selling 'Militant' at rally in support of striking Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia.

movement in progressive social struggles, and to advance the process of transforming the unions into instruments of class struggle that fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited. Out of our tendency in the labor movement, we will contribute decisive cadres to the development of a class-struggle left wing, and we will win thousands of co-workers to the SWP as the vital political instrument to combat the catastrophe American capitalism has in store for them.

All the party's perspectives, tactical judgments, and priorities flow from and are subordinate to this overall strategic orientation. We judge the social weight and political centrality of all struggles and issues from the standpoint of advancing the working class along its strategic line of march. We act as the most politically conscious and organized section of our class.

In this way, the SWP will participate in and increasingly provide political direction to the battles in which the new class-struggle leadership of the unions will be forged. We will advance the development of proletarian leaders who fight uncompromisingly for the needs of their class and for demands of Blacks, Latinos, and women. We will help provide leadership for increasingly revitalized movements of mass social protest.

With this Leninist strategy of party building, the SWP is constructing the revolutionary proletarian leadership needed by the American workers in their fight for a workers government and the socialist transformation of society.

## II. THE CATASTROPHE FACING AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE

Growing insecurity plagues the lives of American working people: recurring shortages of essential goods and breakdowns of services; the ever-present threat of war; chronic high rates of inflation, with double-digit levels becoming the

norm for extended periods; mounting permanent joblessness for youth and periodic layoffs in the millions; nuclear disasters and other environmental nightmares; job-related health and safety calamities; continuing pressure to reverse past gains of Blacks, Latinos, and women and the continuation of discriminatory treatment in all fields; restrictions on democratic rights; the collapse of pension funds and medical programs; slashes in public education and other social services; deterioration of transportation and housing, combined with fare and rent hikes; and much more.

Such products of the decaying capitalist system inflict genuine catastrophes upon millions. They take an increasing toll in human misery, more and more imperiling humanity's very survival.

The expectation among American working people that things will get a little better with each passing year has given way to the growing awareness that even what we have won through past struggles is no longer secure. Capitalism's apologists sing a pessimistic tune. Their watchword is austerity, not prosperity. They berate the American people for becoming "too comfortable," for being "wasteful" and "gasoholics." They insist we must learn to live with the deadly dangers of nuclear power. They warn us that we must be ready to pay more and have less in the coming years. The inevitable ups and downs of the business cycle add to the insecurity and remind us that another Great Depression is somewhere down the road.

At the same time, the American workers continue to believe we have a right to peace, job stability and a secure retirement, protection from inflation, decent health care, quality public education, comfortable housing, greater leisure, freedom from the dangers of nuclear power and weapons, real steps to eliminate all aspects of discrimination, privacy from government snooping on our political and personal lives, and an overall improvement in the quality of life. And we know, partly from firsthand experience on the job, that the technological, scientific, and industrial capacity to move toward these goals exists.

The catastrophe facing working people at home and abroad is the result of the increasingly destructive anarchy of capitalism. It is the inevitable outcome of a system ruled by the drive for profits and capital accumulation. Only the conquest of political power by the working class can bring science and technology under rational control, place the productive forces under the command of society, institute rational international planning to meet human needs, and take decisive and radical steps to eliminate the material foundation of the oppression of national minorities and women.

### Forces Out of Control

A central aspect of the deadly peril created by Washington's war drive is the nuclear arms buildup. The development of "peaceful" uses of atomic energy—nuclear power plants—was a direct offshoot of this weapons production. It aimed both to increase the profits derived from nuclear technology and to justify the horrors of nuclear weapons development.

As the near-meltdown at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, and subsequent revelations showed, the government and energy corporations have lied to the American people about the danger of low-level radiation and catastrophic atomic accidents. Nuclear power production is inevitably fraught with deadly hazards—from the mining and processing of uranium to the day-to-day operation of the plant. In addition, there is no solution to the problems of radioactive waste disposal or what to do with out-of-use reactors, which remain "hot" for centuries. The very same hazards are posed by the production of nuclear arms—not to mention the holocaust their use would mean.

Despite growing demands, backed by ironclad scientific evidence, that all nuclear power plants should be immediately shut down, Washington and Wall Street are pushing ahead with plans for more reactors, promising only that greater "safeguards" will be implemented in light of the Three Mile Island accident.

### Job Safety and the Environment

The vitally important questions of health and safety on the job and environmental protection are closely intertwined. A central aim of the rulers' antilabor offensive is to roll back the environmental and job safety standards that are now on the books. The capitalists want to stamp

out the right of workers, their unions, and the public to know about or control conditions that affect their health and survival where they work and live. The bosses' false claims that safety and pollution are "inflationary" and cause layoffs and plant closings serve as cover for their plans to boost profits at the expense of the lives and livelihood of the working class.

On the job and at home, workers increasingly suffer from capitalism's disregard for human life and the environment. According to government statistics, 5,000 workers were killed on the job in 1977, up 21 percent from the previous year. Speedup at a Willow Island, West Virginia, construction site sent fifty-one workers to their death when scaffolding pulled out of still-wet concrete.

Hundreds of thousands of job-related illnesses and injuries torment workers each year. Cancer caused by radiation and by toxic chemicals on the job and in the air, water, and foods has become a national epidemic. The problem is greatly magnified in certain industries: An extremely high percentage of coal miners and textile workers contract black lung and brown lung; workers at the nuclear division of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in Maine were found to have a leukemia rate six times the national average; and steelworkers topside in coke ovens develop lung cancer ten to fifteen times more frequently than the average.

The impact of environmental destruction on the working class has been dramatized recently by seepage of toxic substances into homes built over an abandoned chemical waste dump in the Love Canal section of Niagara Falls, New York. More than 200 families had to abandon their homes after the discovery of abnormally high rates of liver disease, leukemia, and birth defects. Thousands of similar dumps dot the United States.

In Colorado it was revealed in 1979 that homes and workplaces have been constructed over dumps of radioactive tailings. Homes in Alabama were built with concrete blocks containing radioactive tailings. Mass tragedy, such as the summer 1979 DC-10 crash in Chicago, haunts train and airline travelers as the profit hogs minimize maintenance and speed up workers in a wanton disregard for human life. Cars and other products are more dangerous because of corner-cutting production schedules imposed on the workers.

### Shortages and Breakdowns

The public is increasingly victimized by the monopoly-engineered shortages and inevitable breakdowns that characterize production for profit. The energy trust and its government in Washington justify higher fuel and gas prices, soaring profits, recurring shortages, and increased nuclear-power development by warning that the world is "running out" of oil and natural gas. Children freeze to death in unheated tenements while the monopolists demand ransom money.

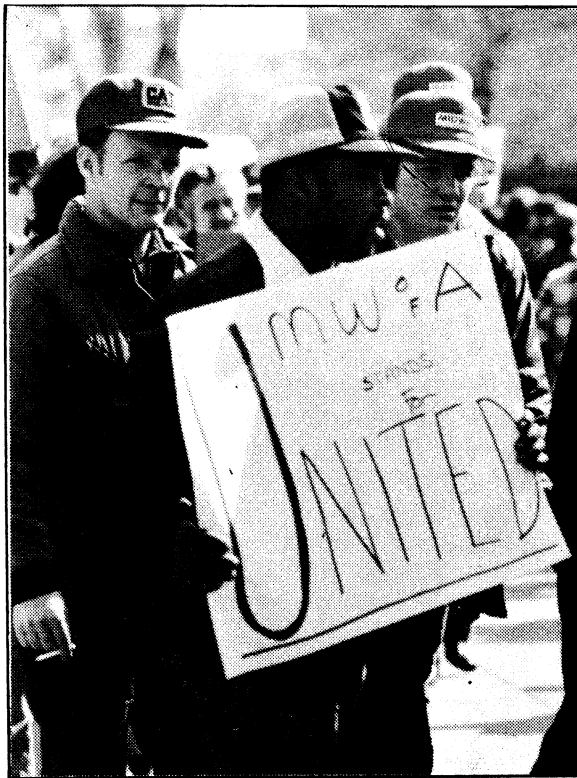
Rail transportation is being cut everywhere. Yet the owners raise rates and fares, profit from bankruptcy boondoggles and government subsidies, while letting roadbeds and rolling stock dangerously deteriorate. The result is more derailments and deadly chemical spills and explosions. The railroad owners squeeze wages, infringe on union democracy, and attack job rights and working conditions.

Postal service becomes less reliable and more expensive. Urban transportation goes to wrack and ruin. Many public hospitals and neighborhood clinics are closed down or handed over to private profiteers.

The rulers slash funds for public schools, while blaming teachers, parents, and the children themselves for declining educational achievement and rising illiteracy. The capitalist politicians claim that the only alternatives are higher taxes on the one hand, or more cutbacks and layoffs of teachers on the other. With typically racist logic, they try to blame Blacks and Latinos for the devastation of public education, violence in the schools, etc. At the same time, they blame Blacks and Latinos for causing high taxes by "cheating" on welfare. They falsely portray themselves as the champions of quality education and lower taxes. But the real responsibility for the gutting of public education, soaring inflation, and higher taxes lies with the anti-working-class policies of the war makers and the profit-gouging capitalists themselves.

There is no relief from the rising prices, which

keep climbing even during recessions. Unemployment goes up and down, but the percentage deemed "normal" by the bosses and politicians steadily rises. During the recovery from the 1974-75 depression, the official unemployment rate never dropped below 5.8 percent—roughly the level at the high point of the 1949, 1954, and 1970 recessions. The pool of long-term jobless and



Militant/Nancy Cole  
Mine workers march in Washington, D.C., on March 15, 1978. Their militant fight dealt heavy blow to rulers' antilabor drive.

part-time workers grows, thereby helping the employers hold down everyone's wages.

International capitalist monetary relations have edged toward collapse several times since 1970 (most recently in the fall of 1978), threatening a world capitalist crisis on a scale unseen since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

### Rights Under Fire

The catastrophic evolution of capitalism is brought into sharp relief by the conditions already confronting the oppressed layers and allies of the working class.

**Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans:** Today, 40 percent of Black children live in homes with incomes below the official government poverty level. In 1977, Black families had incomes that averaged 57 percent of the income of white families—down from 62 percent in 1975. According to the Urban League, fully one-quarter of all working-age Blacks are either unemployed, underemployed, or work only part-time. The Black jobless rate is more than twice that for whites. Even during the "recovery" from the 1974-75 depression, Black unemployment continued at higher levels. As the 1979 recession begins, layoffs are hitting Black, Latino, female, and young workers first.

For Chicanos, both the income and employment disparities are even greater. This oppression also bears down on Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Chinese-Americans, and other national minorities.

This gives the lie to the "reverse discrimination" demagoguery used as part of the rulers' drive to roll back many of the advances in social consciousness established over the past decade and reinforce divisions within the working class.

Racist oppression takes many forms. Segregation in both education and housing for Blacks and Latinos is growing, while quality deteriorates. Bilingual-bicultural education for Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American students is being cut back or denied. The reinstitution of the anti-working-class death penalty particularly victimizes oppressed nationalities, who make up a disproportionate number of death-row prisoners. Continuing police brutality and outright murder were highlighted by the strangling of Black community figure Arthur Miller in New York by a gang of cops. In Texas and throughout the Southwest, police murders of young Chicanos have gone unpunished. Meanwhile, young Blacks such as Gary Tyler and Tommy Lee Hines are framed up and railroaded to prison. The Ku Klux Klan and other semifascist groups rear their heads.

The employers need a sizable pool of immigrant workers whose status as "illegals" makes

them particularly vulnerable to substandard wages, poor job conditions, and lack of union protection. These undocumented immigrant workers can also be used as scapegoats for high unemployment and other ills spawned by the capitalist system, while being excluded from most social welfare benefits. In addition, the employers want to assert their right to regulate immigration to fit their fluctuating labor supply needs, thereby maximizing downward pressure on wages.

These factors explain Washington's increased campaign of intimidation, deportation, and harassment of undocumented workers—mainly those from Mexico, but from elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean as well.

**Women:** The historic gains made by women in the past decade are under attack. Women workers face many forms of discrimination and victimization on the job. The capitalists have far from reconciled themselves to the presence of women in relatively better-paid industrial and skilled work. They continue efforts to drive women out of industry and back into lower-paid and less unionized "women's work." These reactionary efforts will be stepped up as the 1979 recession deepens.

Attacks on affirmative action are aimed at reversing the progressive attitudes and conquests already won in the fight against sex and race discrimination. In 1977 women earned only fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men; the figure was fifty-four cents for Black women and forty-nine cents for Chicanas. This gap has widened, not narrowed, over the past quarter century. Yet despite all the evidence of pervasive discrimination, and even after the three-year extension of the ratification date won after the July 9, 1978, ERA march on Washington, the capitalist Democratic and Republican politicians refuse to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

As part of these efforts to squeeze female workers out of higher-paid industrial jobs, divide men and women workers, and reinforce pressure on women to accept sole responsibility for child-rearing and household chores, the rulers are chopping away at abortion rights. They have already crippled the right to choose in many states and cities, severely cutting back government funding of abortion under programs such as Medicaid. As a result of reactionary congressional legislation, federally funded abortions dropped 99 percent in 1978. This is a particularly heavy blow against many Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women. At the same time, women are subjected to sterilization against their will.

In addition, women continue to face cutbacks in funding for child care. The ruling class is opposed to establishing this needed service as a right, organized as part of expanded education.

**Youth:** Youth unemployment is a national calamity today. The employers' only "solution" is to propose lowering the minimum wage for youth and exempting young workers from labor legislation that offers some protection—that is, to increase the exploitation of young workers. Although jobs are few and far between for all youth, the situation is particularly bleak for young Blacks and Latinos. Their jobless rate is 35 percent by government figures and probably twice that in reality, according to the Urban League. Millions of Blacks nearing age thirty have never had a steady job.

On the job, young workers face lower starting pay, long probationary periods, and extended delays before full access to supplemental unemployment pay, medical plans, and other benefits apply.

Despite the trend toward increased public college opportunities for working-class and minority youth due to the postwar economic expansion and gains of the civil rights struggle, tracking and segregation in education continue to channel them toward the lowest rungs of the job ladder. Funds for education from the elementary school to university levels are now being slashed; special programs trimmed or eliminated; tuition increased and open admissions programs phased out; preferential admissions programs canceled. Vocational and apprenticeship programs come nowhere near matching the influx of young people into the labor market who want and need such training. A majority of working-class youth are denied any post high school education, which remains a privilege rather than the right it should be.

The overwhelming majority of those forced into the so-called volunteer army today are working-class youth, especially Black youth,





Edward Suba, Jr.

Left, cops beat up woman UAW member during strike at Bailey Controls plant in Wickliffe, Ohio; center, Blacks demand justice for Tommy Lee Hines and oppose Klan terror

unable to find a decent job or the chance to learn a marketable skill. Once in the army they are denied their basic democratic rights as citizens to speak their minds and organize politically. Once discharged—often “less than honorably” for resisting racist abuse or otherwise asserting their rights and dignity—veterans face high unemployment, discrimination, deteriorating medical care, declining educational opportunities, along with the multiple problems confronting other young workers.

As young workers proved during the Vietnam War, they do not want to be used as cannon fodder in Washington's drive to defend capitalist interests against the oppressed and exploited. From the very beginning of any attempts to use U.S. troops abroad or against the labor movement and oppressed in this country, there will be opposition inside the Army. American youth will resist any moves by Washington to restore selective service registration and the draft.

**Working Farmers:** The tractorcades beginning in the fall of 1977 and continuing through the Washington encampment of the winter of 1978-79 have drawn attention to the skyrocketing production costs, burdensome interest payments, bank foreclosure threats, and lagging income that plague working farmers in this country. Seventy percent of the 2.7 million American farmers earn less than \$20,000 annually, and 80 percent of this income is derived from nonfarm employment. While the price of an average acre of farmland has doubled since 1972, farm prices have stagnated over that same period.

Racist oppression against Blacks has long resulted in Black farmers being driven off the land. Most of the few who continue to farm are forced to rent the land and machinery they use.

The rulers try to pit wage workers against working farmers by blaming the latter for rising grocery prices and the workers for inflation because of “excessive” wage demands. Yet the real wages of workers have dropped, and 87 percent of the increase in retail food prices since 1973 went to capitalist processors and merchandisers. In several cases, farm prices actually fell, while the retail prices of the same products rose.

#### Bill of Rights Attacked

The U.S. rulers are preparing to meet growing resistance to their offensive by chopping away at the democratic rights of the American people. Pressure for the expansion of civil liberties, and mass outrage over the exposure of government violations of individual rights, have brought important victories. In response, the rulers' need to reinforce the power of their political police to harass, disrupt, and use informers and provocateurs against the labor movement; Black, Latino, and women's rights groups; socialist organizations; and other opponents of government poli-

cies. This requires that they prevent more revelations of government crimes and illegal activities by their cops.

They are also moving toward codifying into law, for the first time in the history of this country, the right of the FBI to spy on constitutionally protected political activities. This is the purpose of the Kennedy-Carter “FBI Charter,” which is being portrayed by the rulers as a “reform.” Actually this bill greatly strengthens the powers of the government's political police force.

Other moves in this direction have included: the federal appeals court decision denying the SWP attorneys the files of eighteen informers and placing the attorney general above the law; the use of gag orders and other restrictions on freedom of the press; the Truong-Humphrey Vietnam “spy” trial; and new federal laws legalizing wiretapping. In doing all this, Washington is also hoping to justify government crimes by refurbishing “national security” arguments, which were discredited by the Pentagon Papers, Watergate, and FBI and CIA revelations.

Other aspects of the rulers' broadside against democratic rights include resistance to granting full human and civil rights to gays and lesbians; attempts to restrict student political rights won during the antiwar movement; and campaign law “reforms,” which make it harder to run for office against the Democrats and Republicans and restrict the rights of unions to engage in political activity free from government interference. The goal of the rulers is to take away the rights the workers need to organize and defend themselves against the austerity drive.

#### Business and Government Secrecy

The ruling class denies working people knowledge, control, or power over the political and economic decisions that shape, and can even destroy, our lives. This is crucial to maintaining the pretense that there is no alternative to life under capitalism, with its grim prospects.

Behind Washington's war preparations are secret diplomatic deals with governments around the world, as well as countless Pentagon secrets. The Three Mile Island disaster exposed once again the complicity between big business and the sham regulatory agencies, which operate behind closed doors and are staffed by flunkies for the corporations. Police agencies from the CIA and FBI down to the city cops keep secret files and hide their collaboration with corporate employment officers and company-hired private detective agencies. To put an end to government secrecy on every level, socialist workers demand: “Open all the files!”

The employers claim they “can't afford” higher wages, health and safety measures, and an end to speedup and forced overtime. They refuse to

produce the real statistics on compliance with affirmative-action rulings. They hide behind their “business secrets” while they justify price hikes, tax breaks, gutting environmental and consumer protection standards, plant closings, and the shutdown of vital services. The energy trust claims there is a fuel shortage, while refusing to reveal the extent of its secret stockpiles and refining capacity or to release accurate facts on the extent of the world's fossil fuel reserves. In response to all these abuses, socialist workers demand: “Open the books for inspection by committees of the unions and consumers!” And we mean not just the financial account books but *all* the secrets—technical information, reserves, inventories, safety and environmental records, speedup schemes, and so on.

#### Public Ownership & Workers Control

Production for private profit is incompatible with the prosperity, well-being, and the very survival of the American people. Each rigged shortage, price explosion, breakdown, or calamity poses the need for public ownership of and workers control over the production and distribution of vital goods and services and the hiring and organization of labor. The convulsive and uneven decay of capitalism pushes this demand to the fore around particular industries. Even the AFL-CIO Executive Council has called for an investigation into the possibility of nationalizing the oil trust—the first time it has ever raised this in connection with a profitable industry.

Socialists demand that the energy and rail industries be taken over by the government—nationalized—and converted into public utilities and public services.

We may also call for public ownership when specific events spotlight the capitalists' social irresponsibility: if a corporation such as Chrysler or the Milwaukee Road claims it cannot afford wage increases, safety and pollution standards, or taxes for public services; when it claims it must close plants, shift production to new locations, and lay off thousands of workers; when it is responsible for environmental catastrophes, on-the-job disasters, or product contamination.

In raising this demand, socialists do not propose government creation of more Amtraks, postal services, or other so-called “public corporations.” We do not advocate nationalizations of the sort undertaken by bourgeois governments in Great Britain and other European capitalist countries. Government intervention and nationalizations along such lines are a fraud designed to conceal the subsidization of these capitalist-owned industries, which have been crippled and ruined by their profiteering owners who drain them of their resources, run them into the





Left, Decatur, Alabama; right, march in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, demands shutdown of nuclear power plants.

ground, and shift their capital to more lucrative sectors.

Even in these cases, the capitalists abhor the precedent of government takeover, which raises the idea of production that is not solely for private profit. As soon as they can restore the industry to profitability, they prepare to return it to private ownership.

In contrast to these reformist nationalization schemes, socialists demand that specific industries vital to the well-being of tens of millions be taken out of private hands, where they are run for profit alone, and operated as public services on a nonprofit basis. That is the demand we place on the capitalist government. We demand that the government nationalize such industries today.

We do so recognizing that any nationalized industry under a capitalist government will remain under capitalist management. Responsibility for financing, purchasing machinery and raw materials, and marketing will remain in the hands of the capitalists organized through their state rather than privately. Workers management is possible only after the conquest of political power by the working class has made possible the expropriation of basic capitalist production and the banks and the institution of rational economic planning. This is the goal of the revolutionary workers movement.

Nationalizations by a capitalist government do not guarantee that the industry will be run openly and in the interests of the public. In fact, the norm is for nationalized enterprises to be run by boards of experts and commissioners hand-picked by the very capitalists who milked them dry to begin with. They operate behind closed doors to guarantee hefty interest payments to their former owners and other wealthy bondholders.

The Three Mile Island near-disaster and revelations following the DC-10 crash have confirmed the already deep suspicions among American working people of government "regulatory" agencies such as the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Federal Aviation Administration. They will be equally if not more skeptical of boards appointed to run nationalized industries with no guarantees of openness and full public knowledge.

That is why socialists demand that industries nationalized by the capitalist government be managed by boards directly elected by the public and closely watched over by the unions and consumer groups. Every aspect of the industry should be open to public scrutiny. All books and records should be open, published, and easily available for inspection. All meetings should be public and all decisions fully aired and accounted for. All aspects of administration should be subject to rigorous workers' control. Workers in the industry should take the lead in digging out the

truth and exposing the socially destructive mismanagement of the capitalists.

Speaking of the role of workers' control in privately owned industries, the Transitional Program—the founding document of the Fourth International, drafted by Leon Trotsky—explains:

"The abolition of business secrets is the first step toward actual control of industry. Workers no less than capitalists have the right to know the secrets of the factory, of the trust, of the whole branch of industry, of the national economy as a whole. First and foremost, banks, heavy industry, and centralized transport should be placed under a magnifying glass.

"The immediate tasks of workers' control should be to explain the debits and credits of society, beginning with individual business undertakings; to determine the actual share of the national income appropriated by individual capitalists and by the exploiters as a whole; to expose the behind-the-scenes deals and swindles of banks and trusts; finally, to reveal to all members of society that unconscionable squandering of human labor which is the result of capitalist anarchy and the naked pursuit of profits."

These same basic considerations continue to apply to industries nationalized under capitalist governments if they are actually to function on a nonprofit basis in the public interest. Elected public boards facilitate the intervention of the workers to spot and counter all such abuses by the capitalist management of nationalized enterprises and safeguard the interests of working people.

Whether in nationalized or privately owned industries, the right of workers to control conditions on the job becomes particularly important as the employers intensify their speedup drive. Workers must have veto power over health and safety conditions, the right to walk off any job that endangers life or limb, the right to shut down any production process that threatens the environment. They must exercise control over hours and the pace of work, with the unconditional right to refuse overtime. They must have the right to strike to force compliance with contract provisions and safety standards.

### III. CHANGING FRAMEWORK OF AMERICAN POLITICS

The industrial unions, despite their current class-collaborationist misleadership, are the major domestic institutions impeding the rulers' drive to jack up their profit rate to the level necessary to intensify labor discipline and modernize industry in the hopes of launching a new period of long-term capitalist expansion. The wages and working conditions won by these

unions influence those of all workers. The industrial working class keeps the economy functioning and creates the decisive portion of surplus value from which the capitalists derive their profits and the revenues to finance their cops, courts, government bureaucracies, and massive nuclear armed forces.

The industrial unions, and the workers organized in them, possess enormous economic, social, and political might. This awesome potential power places them in a special relationship to the rest of the labor movement, the working class as a whole, and all the oppressed. It gives these unions the capacity to lead the fight to halt the rulers' war drive, shut down nuclear power plants, prevent the destruction of the environment, end race and sex discrimination, protect and advance the rights and living conditions of the American people, and enable humanity to solve all the broad social questions it faces. This places great social and political responsibility on the leadership of these unions.

The ruling class is determined to prevent the industrial unions from becoming a force capable of leading such a class-struggle labor movement. It is determined to prevent such a leadership from arising. Instead, the bosses aim to weaken further the capacity of the unions to serve as the workers' first line of defense against encroachments on their wages, hours, working conditions, and job security. Just as the rulers strive to remove all barriers to using their military might abroad, their goal is to stop workers from using union power to block the capitalist profit drive at home.

Thus, the ruling class has no choice but to confront these powerful organized sections of the labor movement as it deepens its austerity drive. This calculated and systematic offensive is already under way, and it will intensify.

The consequent widening of the class polarization changes the political framework in which every economic, social, and political struggle occurs. It changes the kind of social power and leadership necessary to make major advances in the fight for Black equality, women's rights, protection of the environment, or any other struggle that challenges the prerogatives of the capitalist class. It creates new possibilities for developing proletarian leadership and mobilizing greater social power, thereby strengthening mass social protest actions and increasing the direct involvement of the unions in them. In the 1980s the working class and its allies will move forward together, or all will be driven back by the rulers' onslaught.

Resistance to this antilabor offensive has begun, led by a new generation of working-class fighters starting to emerge from the union ranks. They are being pushed by the employers' attacks toward using the power of the unions. They are moving toward understanding that their interests lie in opposing the austerity drive of the capitalists and defending all of its victims. More than at any time in decades, they want their unions to be identified with and use their power on behalf of progressive social struggles. They are being taught by the rulers' actions that the fate of these struggles and of their class depend on each other.

These factors indicate the historic importance of organizing the most conscious workers to promote the development of a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement—one that fights for labor to think socially and act politically.

### Changing Character of Offensive

In the initial stages of the ruling-class offensive, the employers targeted those sections of the labor movement that were weakest, least powerfully organized, least strategically placed, most craft-divided, and therefore most vulnerable: teachers and public employees, construction workers, the printing trades, etc. The rulers also began gutting vital public services and social insurance programs and pushing to take back past gains won by the struggles of Blacks, Latinos, and women.

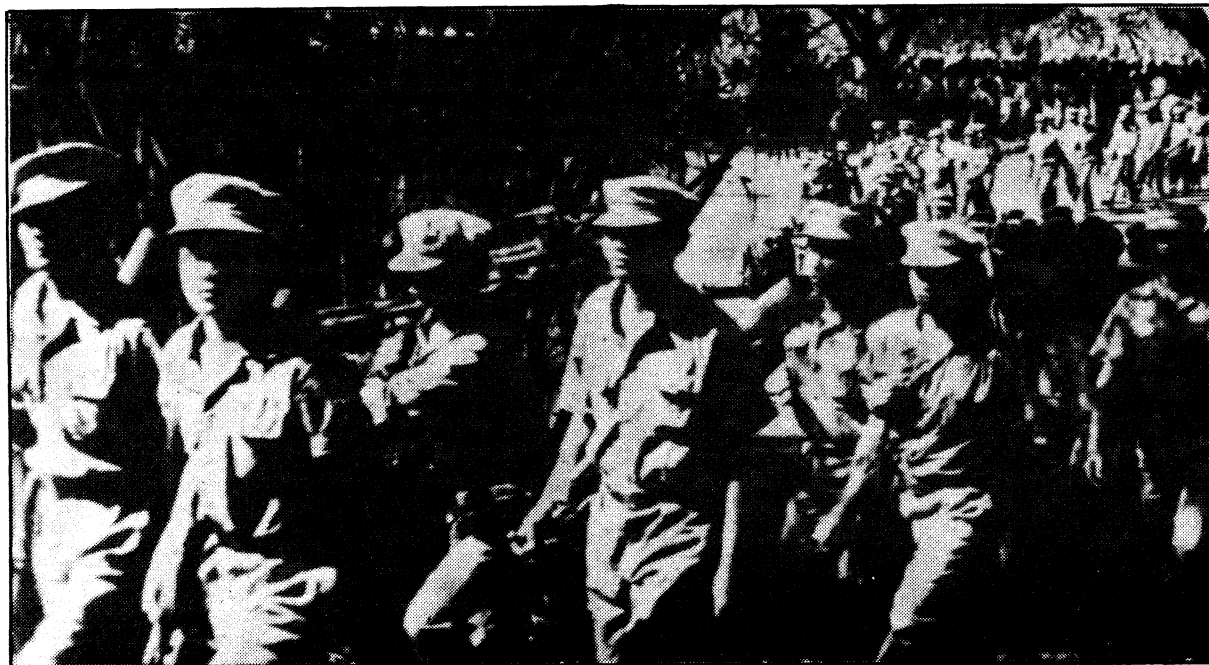
These attacks are intensifying today, as the rulers prepare to take on the most powerfully organized sections of the working class.

A key goal is to weaken the major industrial unions: the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, Teamsters, International Association of Machinists, and the unions representing workers in the rail, electrical, aerospace, oil and chemical, shipbuilding, machine tool, meatpacking, rubber, and other industries. The rulers are laying the groundwork for an inevitable head-on confrontation with these unions.

The 110-day 1977-78 coal strike marked the employers' first major attempt in this offensive to directly confront and significantly weaken the power of a major industrial union. As such, the stakes involved were greater than in any labor battle in the United States since 1946. The coal operators, backed by the entire U.S. ruling class, set out to take back the most important social benefits and elements of control over job conditions that miners had won through past battles. They hoped to weaken the combativity of the workers, tarnish the UMWA's attractiveness to nonunionized miners, and convince all unionists that the greater rank-and-file democracy the

the CIO. The stage for the Newport News organizing drive and strike was set by the civil rights struggles and changing political and social consciousness of the past two decades.

The civil rights movement won far-reaching gains for Blacks and for the entire working class. The Jim Crow system of legal segregation was smashed in the 1960s and cannot be resurrected short of a major historic defeat of American labor. For the first time since the counterrevolution that ended Radical Reconstruction and paved the way for Jim Crow, parts of the South are now more desegregated than major northern industrial states. The defeat of Jim Crow regis-



Rebel soldiers march in Pnompenh after toppling Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Petty-bourgeois radical currents like the 'Guardian' have lined up with U.S. imperialism in support of ousted Pol Pot regime.

miners had fought for and won only divided and paralyzed the union.

If they had succeeded, the defeat would have worsened the relationship of class forces, demoralized broad layers of the working class, and opened the door for the rulers to go after other unions and step up their attacks against oppressed nationalities, women, and youth.

Instead, the coal miners brought to bear the added strength that greater union democracy had given their union—in particular the right to vote on contracts. They stood up to the coal operators and to Carter's strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunction. They won active support throughout the labor movement.

The final settlement, which a near majority of the miners voted to reject, took back the previously won free universal family medical plan and marked no steps forward in union control over job conditions. From this point of view, many miners viewed the outcome as a setback. The miners' success in rebuffing the central aims of the operators and the government, however, was a victory—not only for them, but for American labor as a whole. It inspired other workers around the country, many of whom had been drawn into active solidarity with fellow workers for the first time.

The outcome of the strike put the miners in a strengthened position to defend themselves in the future, when new battles are forced on them by the owners. All those fighting for progressive social change were aided by the UMWA's battle, whether they knew it or not. The relationship of class forces shifted to the detriment of the capitalists.

The ruling class organized another antilabor probe during the November 1978 election: the "right to work" initiative on the Missouri ballot. The employers were hoping to extend their so-called Southern Strategy—keeping unions out and wages low—into the centers of greater industrial concentration in the North and East. Here, too, the bosses were rebuffed. Missouri workers—with the support of Black groups, working farmers, and the National Organization for Women—turned out in record numbers on election day to vote down the antilabor measure. This victory was followed by another in New Mexico, where the governor acceded to demands by the labor movement to veto a "right to work" bill.

#### The 'Open-Shop' South

The battle for recognition of Steelworkers Local 8888 at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard is among the largest and most promising drives in the "open shop" South since the rise of

tered the most significant shift in the relationship of class forces to the benefit of the workers since the organization of the CIO.

One of the legacies of Jim Crow, and of the default by the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy, is the lower level of unionization in the southern states. Organizing the South, where "right to work" indoctrination is systematically organized by the ruling class from grade school on, remains a major task of the American industrial union movement. Failure to shoulder that responsibility increasingly saps the strength of unions nationwide.

Conscious of this fact, the employing class is shifting more of its operations to the South, as well as to other "right to work" states in the so-called Sun Belt. The rulers are determined to keep unions out of these parts of the country.

That is why the Democratic and Republican politicians, National Labor Relations Board, courts, and cops all ganged up against Local 8888 and stalemated the organizing drive. As the Newport News experience is showing, however, the struggles that toppled Jim Crow also created more favorable conditions to challenge and defeat the open shop. These struggles heightened the self-confidence among Black workers and made southern white workers more class-conscious, more capable of recognizing their common class interests with Blacks.

There has also been a sharp increase in industrialization in the South. Blacks comprise a much larger percentage of the industrial labor force there than ever before. This was an important factor at Newport News. The initiating local leadership of the strike was majority Black.

Newport News is the most important battlefield in the fight to organize the South, one that won't be won or lost in a single round. It is also an example of how white and Black workers must and will unite in struggle under the bosses' hammerblows. It underlines the importance of affirmative action in unifying the working class in preparation to do battle with the bosses and highlights the significance of the victory over the racist *Weber* suit—a victory in which steelworkers and other unionists played a decisive role.

More and more workers throughout the South and parts of the "Sun Belt" are pressing for union organization. In July 1979 workers at the huge new General Motors assembly plant in Oklahoma City voted by more than a two-to-one margin to affiliate with the United Auto Workers. The Oklahoma City operation is the largest of GM's twenty-one assembly divisions, scheduled to employ 5,000 workers by the end of 1979.

Other signs of this growing demand for union protection in the South are the success of the widely publicized Teamsters organizing drive in the North Carolina Piedmont area and the victory by the United Rubber Workers at the Firestone radial tire plant in Nashville, Tennessee. The rubber industry is among those most energetically seeking to move operations to the open-shop "Sun Belt."

#### Carter's Wage Guidelines

The Carter administration's attempt to impose a ceiling on wage increases is another key aspect of the rulers' antilabor offensive. It is an open move by the capitalist government to enter the collective-bargaining process on behalf of the employing class. As with all past government "wage and price" programs, prices and profits have continued their upward march, while real wages fall further behind. In early 1979 the Carter administration intervened against the striking Paperworkers in the Pacific Northwest and against the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, helping the employers hold the line against those unions.

Under the pressure of the ranks, 1979 wage increases in the Teamsters, rubber workers, electrical workers, and auto workers negotiations all surpassed the Carter guidelines, although not by much. Government interference helped the employers impose settlements below what would otherwise have been possible and aided the false propaganda that prices can be held down by moderating workers' wage demands. Moreover, all the contracts tied future gains by the workers to increased profitability by the employers and made contract progress on one front contingent on workers giving up past gains on another. According to the auto settlement, for example, increased pensions levels will be offset by weakening the cost-of-living guarantees for active workers.

While the AFL-CIO's denunciations of the Carter guidelines reflect pressure from working people who see through the scheme's obvious class inequities, AFL-CIO President George Meany's alternative of mandatory wage and price restraints, and UAW President Douglas Fraser's search for an "equitable" incomes policy, are a measure of the union bureaucracy's bankruptcy. Meany has even proposed that the labor officialdom participate with business and government figures in enforcing mandatory controls.

A class-struggle leadership would unconditionally oppose all controls or other interference by the bosses' government in collective bargaining and strikes. It would fight for full cost-of-living escalators in all contracts and to cover all social benefits, with the price index drawn up and monitored by committees of unionists, farmers, and consumers, not by the capitalist government. Inflation is a permanent feature of capitalism today. The fight to protect the working class against its effects is a central question for the labor movement.

Closely linked to this is the struggle against unemployment and underemployment, which divide and weaken the labor movement and exert downward pressure on the wages of all workers. The unions must tie the fight against forced overtime to a political campaign for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. The labor movement should demand unemployment compensation at full union wages, and a massive, federally funded employment program to build and upgrade schools, child-care facilities, public transportation, hospitals, housing, parks and playgrounds, and other needed social projects.

Struggles for a shorter workweek and full cost-of-living escalators are necessarily interlinked. Together, they provide the only just and rational way to protect workers from the sharpening alternation of layoffs and bursts of inflation, the more frequent combination of the two ("slumpflation"), and the increasing rate of long-term unemployment and escalating price rises. These are permanent features of this period of deepening capitalist stagnation.

#### Fightback Is Under Way

The 1974-75 depression and the escalating ferocity of the employers' offensive were a double jolt to American working people. Today we are beginning to see the delayed reaction: increasing resistance by industrial workers across the country. These are defensive measures in response to the bosses' austerity moves. Because of the labor officialdom's continuing default, they have large-



ly remained at the level of isolated sporadic skirmishes.

Nonetheless, the struggles already pointed to indicate a changing consciousness and heightened combativity in industry from coast to coast, a desire among organized workers to use their unions to fight back, and a growing desire among unorganized workers to obtain union protection.

Through these experiences, workers are beginning to learn valuable lessons about the interconnection between union democracy and the use of union power; about the importance of solidarity within the union, the broader labor movement, and with the struggles of the oppressed; and about the antilabor role of the government and Democratic and Republican politicians. Struggles such as these, and the conclusions workers begin drawing from them, put increasing strains on the shackles of class collaboration imposed by the bosses and labor bureaucracy. The workers want to free their hands to do battle.

As growing numbers of industrial workers—organized and unorganized—begin to look to the unions to mobilize their collective strength against the employers and the government, a new generation of working-class leaders is developing in the ranks of the labor movement. This process will accelerate, beginning on a local level. Many are young, white, male workers. But a proportionately larger number of these new leaders are representative of the changing race and sex composition of the work force, which is more Black and Latino, and more female than ever before.

There has been continued urbanization and proletarianization of the Black population, a process that applies to Chicanos and Puerto Ricans as well. The percentage of Black workers in such decisive industries as steel and auto, and in the unions that organize those industries, is significantly greater than their percentage in the overall population.

The number of women workers has more than doubled since 1950. Today women comprise more than 40 percent of the U.S. labor force—the highest percentage ever, including World War II. More than 60 percent of all women between ages eighteen and fifty-four are in the work force today. Married women living with their husbands comprise 55.6 percent of these women workers now, as compared with only 30 percent in 1940. One-fifth of all union members today are women. Women have increasingly broken into basic industries such as steel, auto, and mining, where they make up a small but growing percentage of the work force and union membership.

The economic upturn following the 1974-75 depression has also brought millions more young workers into the labor force.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg  
The nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania.

The attitudes of the new generation of working-class fighters have been shaped by the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, women, and antiwar youth throughout the 1960s and 1970s. This deepgoing radicalization changed the face of American politics. It raised the social and political consciousness of broad layers of working people. It lessened the ability of the ruling class to use racism, sexism, chauvinism, and anticommunism to keep workers from discovering who their enemies are and who their allies are.

Compared to the generations that came before them, young workers today are less hampered by racist and sexist prejudices and other reactionary superstitions promoted by the rulers. They have less confidence in government, big business, the church, and other institutions, norms, and values used to maintain capitalist rule.

While many still hope they can find some individual solution, there is a widening chasm between their expectations—what they view as their rights—and the dismal reality of capitalism's economic and social convulsions. The current downturn in the economy will further shake their confidence in capitalism and increase their anger. They are more discontented, more ready to fight, and more open to socialist ideas than before.

A striking aspect of these changes in the working class is the narrowing gap between the combativity and the political and social consciousness of many white workers and that of the generally more class-conscious Black workers. Young white workers are starting to catch up.

At the same time, new struggles are confirming that Blacks will play a vanguard role in transforming the labor movement. The civil rights and nationalist upsurges heightened the self-confidence of Black workers, their class consciousness, and their nationalist awareness of their special oppression as Blacks. The events since the 1974-75 depression have not only propelled that process forward but have also increased the class consciousness of the working class in general.

### Institutionalized Class Collaboration

The workers and their unions are hamstrung in resisting the rulers' austerity drive by class-collaborationist institutions and policies extending from the shop floor to the bosses' two-party monopoly in government. This pattern of "stable labor-management cooperation" arose along with the consolidation of an entrenched bureaucracy in the industrial unions during the period of political reaction and cold war in the late 1940s and 1950s.

The labor bureaucracy is a parasitic growth on the unions. It is an instrument for bringing capitalist pressure to bear within the labor movement. These labor lieutenants of the capitalist class gut union democracy, foster divisions along age, craft, race, and sex lines; promote protectionism (the interests of their own bosses) as the answer to unemployment; turn their backs on the unorganized majority of the American working class; and harness the unions to the employers' political parties and their government.

Workers received small but real wage increases during the two decades following World War II. This helped the union officialdom perpetuate the myth among a layer of relatively better-off workers that a permanent strategy of class collaboration was in their material interests and that capitalism and what it could offer deserved their confidence and support.

The labor bureaucracy, pretending to speak in the interests of all workers, was a bulwark against the struggle for equality for Blacks and women, a flag-waving backer of the Vietnam War and imperialist foreign policy in general, and an opponent of environmental protection and other progressive causes.

These reactionary policies have had a devastating impact on the unions over the past third of a century, weakening them and lowering their standing in the eyes of working people and their potential allies. Many workers came to view union dues as merely another tax on their paychecks, from which they derived little or no benefit.

Today, having nowhere else to turn for even partial protection against the bosses' offensive, more and more workers—organized and unorganized—have begun to take another look at the unions. Yet the decline of the unions cannot be turned around, nor their power brought to bear on behalf of the workers and their allies, so long as the labor movement is manacled by the

class-collaborationist practices of the current union officialdom.

The erosion of union democracy and rank-and-file involvement and control has taken its toll in innumerable ways. In most cases, the bureaucracy can take political positions without discussion or vote by the membership.

The workers' right to collectively walk off the job to correct unsafe conditions or reverse arbitrary actions by the employers has been replaced by powerless grievance procedures. The workers are tangled in miles of red tape. The involvement of lawyers and "impartial" arbitrators grows.

Even the right to strike at contract time is sometimes forfeited, as in the so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement accepted by the Steelworkers officialdom. In many unions workers do not have the right to read the contracts under which they will have to work, let alone to accept or reject them. There has been a steady growth of debilitating two-, three-, and even four-year-long contracts.

The pattern of direct government interference, established during and right after World War II, has been endorsed and encouraged by the bureaucracy. The union officials sit on government boards made up of management, labor, and the "public." Courts routinely hand down injunctions, limiting the right to picket or ordering strikers back to work. Antilabor laws such as the Taft-Hartley Act are invoked against the unions, under cover of protecting the "national interest."

With their collective power thus shackled, workers are pressured to seek individual solutions. Some find a second job. Others are forced to accept more and more overtime. In May 1978, for example, more than a quarter of all full-time employees worked more than a forty-hour week, and the figures are substantially higher in some industries. Just to scrape by, many families (nearly 60 percent of married couples living together) are relying on two or even three paychecks. This is a measure of the capitalists' success in raising the rate of exploitation and lowering the value of labor power.

Another payoff of class collaboration has been the labor bureaucracy's default in not mobilizing the workers and their allies to fight for national social programs that benefit the entire working class: a federally funded public health-care program; adequate federal social security pensions protected against inflation for all workers; veterans' benefits; unemployment and workers' compensation plans at full union-scale wages. Instead, in the postwar years the bureaucracy turned to negotiating "fringe benefits" on a union-by-union, industry-by-industry basis. Health and retirement plans are under company control and tied to the productivity gains and profits of the employers. Thus they are thrown up for grabs each time a contract expires and can collapse altogether because of a downturn in the capitalist economic cycle, poor management, corruption, or deliberate neglect. This increasingly subjects workers to the crushing weight of the most rapidly escalating costs in America—the costs of hospitalization and medical care.

All these factors have contributed to a sharp decline in the percentage of the labor force organized into unions. This has dropped from one-third of the nonfarm labor force in 1958 to slightly less than one-fourth today.

The labor officialdom has sought to appease the employers and preserve "labor peace" by defaulting on unionization of the South, of agricultural workers nationwide, and of the millions of workers who still face nonunion conditions. Where organizing drives are undertaken, the workers' efforts are often undermined by the officialdom's reliance on the NLRB, courts, and capitalist politicians, rather than on the power of the ranks and solidarity in the labor movement. This has resulted in the fifteen-year stagnation of the J.P. Stevens organizing drive, various setbacks to the United Farm Workers organizing drive, and the recent success of Coors union-busting efforts in Colorado, to cite several examples.

The capitalist two-party system is the capstone of the entire structure of class collaboration. The labor bureaucracy's subordination of the unions to the parties of big business disarms working people, who need class unity and solidarity on all levels to fight against the antilabor policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

### Class-Struggle Left Wing

Thinking socially and acting politically is a matter of survival for the unions. Either the current class-collaborationist officialdom will be

replaced by a class-struggle leadership, or the American working class will face devastating setbacks in the 1980s.

This new leadership will be assembled around a program that expresses the interests of the working class and its allies. It will come out of the ranks of the labor movement and be forged in struggle against the employers and their government. Because of both the composition of the work force today and the broad political and social questions the labor movement must address, this class-struggle leadership will be young, multinational, and will have a strong component of women. Militant unionists of different nationalities and both sexes will batter down the reactionary barriers that the labor officialdom erects to keep women, youth, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans out of leadership positions in the labor movement.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the unions can take one of two roads. Under their current petty-bourgeois leadership, their role as instruments to discipline workers will become increasingly predominant. They will become ever more closely tied to the capitalist state and the Democratic and Republican parties.

Along the other road, the unions will be transformed into instruments of struggle against the bosses and the government. The fight for a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement seeks to unleash union power on behalf of the workers and oppressed. The axes along which the fight for a class-struggle left wing will take place can be summed up in three objectives: solidarity, union democracy, and political independence from the capitalist class.

**Solidarity.** This has two interlinked aspects. One is winning the unions to actively support each other and back workers in other industries doing battle with the employers. The coal miners and Newport News strikers have provided important experience in the necessity and value of doing this. All the bureaucratic barriers that prevent union locals from helping each other must be swept aside.

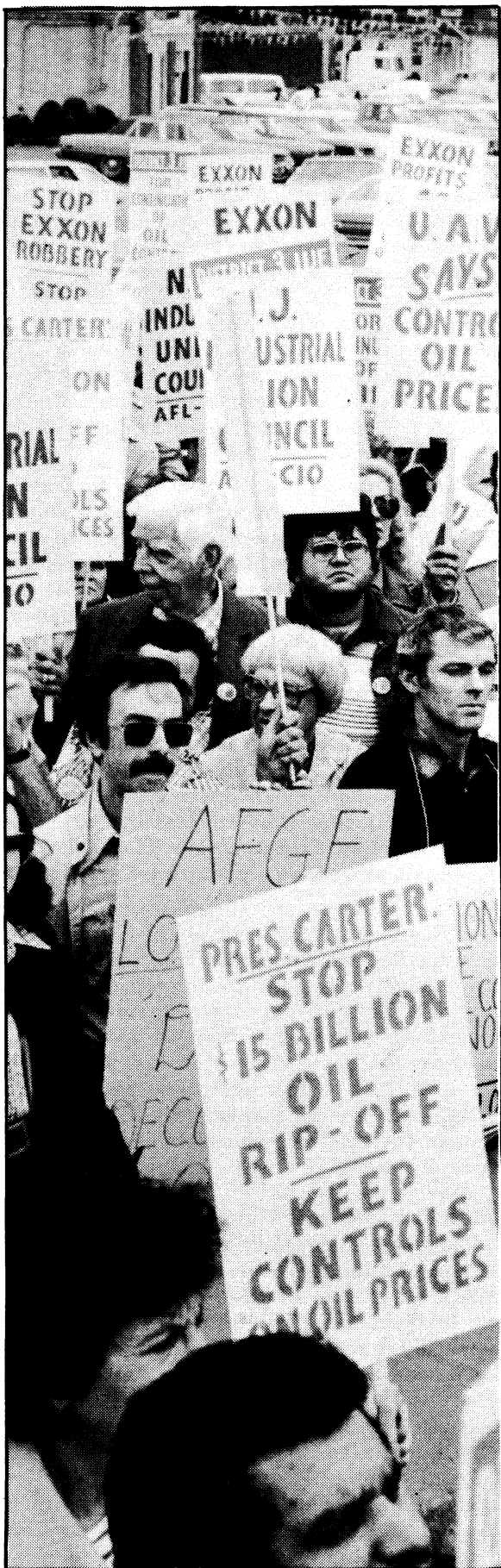
Solidarity means countering the employers' attempts to cripple the labor movement by pitting unions against each other through jurisdictional squabbles and sweetheart agreements, or encouraging divisions between industrial workers and public employees. It means opposing all the schemes to cut wages and benefits for new, young, or part-time workers—schemes that are increasingly pushed by the bosses under the guise of maintaining benefits for higher-seniority workers. In reality, this divides the work force and weakens the unions, providing a reservoir of low-paid workers and driving down wages and conditions for all.

Linked with this is the need for solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed at home and abroad. This involves support to the struggles of workers and peasants in other countries and active opposition to Washington's war preparations, which are aimed against these struggles. It involves bringing the weight of the labor movement into the fight for Black and Chicano rights and women's equality. It involves the fight against protectionism and anti-immigrant prejudices.

Solidarity involves throwing union power into struggles around vital social issues, such as the fight against nuclear power and for the alternative expansion of coal production.

**Union Democracy.** As the 1977-78 miners' strike dramatically confirmed, union democracy unlocks the power of the workers, helping them to break through the bonds of class collaborationism. This means not just the right to *decide*, but the *capacity to act* on the basis of those decisions. The fight for the right to strike, the right to vote on contracts, and other aspects of rank-and-file control are key to transforming the labor movement and mobilizing the working class and its allies against the capitalists. That is why the employers and their labor lieutenants are dead set against the attempts by steelworkers, rail workers, and other unionists to expand democracy in their unions.

**Political independence.** The power of the labor movement to promote the interests and solidarity of the working class and its allies will be limited and ultimately paralyzed so long as the unions remain tied to the parties of the employers and have no independent political arm of their own. It is more and more clear today that there are no winning tactics independent of a class-struggle political strategy that can take



Militant/Arnold Weissberg



Top, unions demonstrate in Linden, New Jersey, on May 21 to protest rigged oil shortage and oil company price gouging. Bottom, cars line up for gas in New York City.

labor and its allies forward. The forces that take the lead in pushing toward a class-struggle left wing will blaze the trail toward independent working-class political action, the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

#### Labor and Its Allies

Like the organized labor movement, the forces fighting for Black and Chicano rights, for women's liberation, and around other social

issues face a crisis of leadership and political perspectives. Confronting greater intransigence by the rulers and a sharpening class polarization, the petty-bourgeois misleaders of these struggles are in disarray. They have brought these fights to an impasse.

The question of class orientation is sharply posed for the Black, Latino, and women's struggles. To make substantial gains, or to prevent past gains from being taken back, it is increasingly necessary for broader forces to be mobilized and for the power of the unions to be brought to bear.

Progress toward transforming the labor movement into a social force that will use its power in this way is inseparable from resolving the leadership crisis of these struggles. These combined processes will advance the development of new leaders of these struggles from the ranks of the working class and foster the growth of mass organizations fighting uncompromisingly for Black, Latino, and women's rights.

New opportunities to advance the struggles of the oppressed have been created by the beginnings of resistance to the ruler's offensive in the labor movement, and by the already deepgoing changes in composition and attitudes among big layers of the working class.

Activists in various social protest struggles and organizations increasingly recognize that they must turn to the unions to find the power needed to win. They are open to understanding that there are no separate roads forward. There is not one strategy to transform the labor movement and another strategy to win the struggles of the allies of the working class. Moreover, they are beginning to see evidence that such a proletarian perspective of struggle is both effective and realistic.

And a growing layer of unionists are recognizing that it is in their *class* interests to champion the demands of Blacks, Latinos, and women, and to fight to preserve the environment.

The changes taking place within the labor movement have already been registered on a broad range of issues.

Most major U.S. unions came out in opposition to the *Weber* suit, which challenged the right of unions to bargain for affirmative action in hiring and job upgrading. This was a big step forward for the American labor movement, reflecting the growing consciousness that affirmative-action programs strengthen and unify, rather than weaken and divide, the working class. This developing understanding in the ranks gave rise to the spring 1979 nationwide USWA civil rights conference, which was attended by more than 1,000 steelworkers and union officials. Labor support to affirmative action is crucial to the development of common action between the unions and organizations fighting for the rights of oppressed nationalities and women.

Other signs of change in American labor include the prominent union contingents at the July 1978 ERA demonstration called by NOW; the growing support by official bodies of the UMWA, USWA, UAW, and other unions for antinuclear activities; the AFL-CIO's proposal to look into nationalization of the oil trust; the widespread opposition by California unions to the antigay, antilabor Briggs initiative; the August 1979 Labor for Equal Rights Now conference initiated by unions in Virginia; the broad labor sponsorship of and interest in the 1978 tour of South African trade unionist Drake Koka; and the growing number of union endorsements of Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum in the United States.

Growing possibilities exist for workers to take the fight initiated by women's organizations for abortion rights and child-care facilities into the unions. More and more the fight against racist frame-ups, for busing and housing desegregation, for bilingual-bicultural education, against the Ku Klux Klan and other racist and fascist groups, against the death penalty, and for defense of democratic rights will win support from the unions.

It is these new political opportunities that lie at the heart of the SWP's decision to get the overwhelming majority of our members into fractions in industry and industrial unions. It is possible for fractions to conduct political work around a broad range of questions in those workplaces and unions today. As part of an expanding Marxist tendency in the labor movement, socialist workers are helping to advance the process in which new forces can be mobilized behind the



struggles for Black, Latino, and women's rights. In these struggles the new leadership of the unions and organizations of the oppressed is beginning to take shape.

The growing recognition of the need for alliances finds a distorted expression through some of the statements and actions of such current leaders of the labor movement as Douglas Fraser of the UAW and William Winpisinger of the IAM, and of organizations such as NOW and the NAACP. These liberal and reformist misleaders are increasingly squeezed between the ruling-class offensive on the one side, and the ranks' demand for unity, action, and solutions on the other.

When Fraser complains about a "one-sided" class war launched by the employers, his real worry is the coming two-sided class war that threatens his bureaucratic grip on the UAW. For example, his widely publicized sponsorship of a six-minute work stoppage so that auto workers could sign postcards to Washington about the energy crisis was clearly aimed at forestalling something bigger at the initiative of the ranks.

Leaders of NOW and of civil rights groups such as the NAACP are also threatened by these developments. Through vehicles such as Fraser's "Progressive Alliance," they increasingly band together—not in order to unify and strengthen the oppressed and exploited they claim to represent, but to strengthen their hand in Democratic Party politics and create the impression that they are trying to wring concessions from the rulers. Their common aim is to block the independent mobilizations of the ranks, contain the struggle within the confines of class collaboration, and prevent a class break from the two-party system.

Nonetheless, this alliance strikes a certain positive chord in the ranks because of the objective need for a real alliance of labor, Black and Latino organizations, and women's rights groups to fight uncompromisingly *against* the employers and their government and *for* the interests of the exploited and oppressed. This conclusion is beginning to be drawn by a layer of militants in the unions and in organizations such as NOW, as well as by activists in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican struggles.

The fact that the unions are coming to the center in the fightback today does not mean that there will be fewer struggles initiated by organizations or social forces outside the organized labor movement. It does not mean that these forces will *wait* for or depend on the unions to take up the fight. It does not mean that the fight for any social goal can be reduced to the fight for a class-struggle left wing in the unions.

To the contrary, there is every reason to anticipate an increase in the number and scope of such struggles. Their potential for success is heightened by the new possibilities that exist to bring the weight of the labor movement into the fight and to bring a new leadership, a proletarian leadership, to the forefront of social struggles.

Most importantly, progressive protest movements will continue to have a decisive and irreplaceable effect on raising the social and political consciousness of the working class. This is crucial not only to the success of these struggles but to the revolutionary transformation of the labor movement, the growth of direct mass action in the streets by the oppressed, and preparation of the workers to govern and reorganize society.

### Social Weight & Political Centrality

Revolutionary socialists start with a reaffirmation of what we have learned from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky—that the most powerful social force is the working class and that the industrial workers are its decisive component. As the most conscious section of our class, socialist workers put forward a program and strategy to advance labor along its line of march toward a workers government.

It is from the standpoint of how best to advance along this road that revolutionists judge the social weight of oppressed layers in society and the political centrality of issues and demands. It is not the numerical size alone of an oppressed group that is decisive, but its relationship to the working class and American labor's strategic line of march.

The oppression of Blacks, Latinos, and women is vital to the maintenance and functioning of the capitalist system. The fight to end their oppression poses a mortal threat to capitalist rule. Only by championing these struggles can the labor movement strengthen and unify the

working class and combat the prejudices and other reactionary ideas fostered by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants to keep workers from recognizing their true *class* interests. Because of the overwhelmingly proletarian composition of the oppressed nationalities, and the growing percentage of women in the work force and in the key industrial unions, American labor has an added stake in supporting and helping to advance their struggles.

The same criteria apply in determining which political issues are central and which are peripheral to the strategic goals of our class. While all political issues are expressions of the class struggle, some are central to the welfare and survival of the working class: imperialist war, jobs and prices, race and sex discrimination, the needs of youth, nuclear power and weapons, job safety and environmental destruction, to name some of the most important.

The working class has a direct interest in the defense and extension of the democratic rights of all the oppressed and exploited. Within this framework, certain democratic rights take on particular importance to the workers and their key allies in defending their ability to organize and fight; these include freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and the right to organize and strike.

### Working Farmers

From this understanding of strategic social weight, it can clearly be seen that working farmers, in addition to oppressed national minorities and women, are among labor's decisive allies.

Constructing an alliance between wage workers and working farmers is of central importance to revolutionary prospects in this country. The number of people who live on farms continues to decline both absolutely and as a percentage of the population, owing to increased productivity resulting from mechanization and other scientific and technological advances. But despite this smaller number, independent agricultural producers still account for a majority of U.S. food output. Without support from working farmers, American labor could be literally starved out in a revolutionary confrontation with the rulers of this country.

The rural population is highly stratified. At the bottom are the superexploited agricultural wage laborers, who are part of the working class; at the top are the wealthy farmers, growers, and ranchers who themselves are capitalists and exploit large amounts of labor.

The majority of those in between are working farmers who usually employ no regular labor and are mortgaged up to their ears for land, fertilizer, and implements. These debt slaves must often work a full- or part-time job to get by. Working farmers are exploited by capital. They are robbed by the banks; by the monopoly trusts to which they must pay through the nose for machinery, fuel, and other production goods; by the railroads and trucking companies; and by the giant processors and merchandisers to whom they must sell. With a correct policy, the labor movement can divide the exploiters from the exploited among the rural population. The rulers' attempt to drive a wedge between workers and farmers can be countered.

The capitalists try to persuade farmers that they are businessmen, not exploited toilers, and that responsibility for rising prices of industrial goods lies with the supposedly excessive wage demands by workers. They try to get workers to believe that farmers are responsible for rising food prices.

In response to this demagoguery, the labor movement should explain how farmers are exploited. It should propose the establishment of price committees made up of unionists, farmers, and consumers. These committees would demand to inspect the books of the banks, whose soaring interest rates devastate the farmer, the homeowner, and those who buy on installment plans. They would demand the right to see all the financial and other records of the big industrial and food processing corporations to reveal the truth about their profits and their monopoly pricing practices. These demands are important not only from the standpoint of labor's alliance with working farmers, but as part of the general fight against inflation.

Socialists also call on the government to guarantee the full cost of production plus a living income to all working farmers. At the same time, we oppose any subsidies whatsoever to capitalist

farming operations or for the purpose of curtailing agricultural production.

In addition, the government should provide interest-free credit for farmers, as well as free medical insurance and retirement pensions.

Unlike the exploiters, working farmers are victims of capitalism. Their sons go to war. Their daughters are denied equal rights. They suffer from the shortages and breakdowns that capitalism inflicts on all working people. Capitalism's catastrophes leave them in a state of total insecurity.

Sections of the labor movement have already begun to express support for the tractorcades and other protests by working farmers demanding government action to ensure they recover their full production costs and make a decent income. A layer of farmers have shown they understand the importance of this alliance by their solidarity caravans during the coal strike and support to the fight against the Missouri "right to work" referendum. They have actively sought backing from unions and the Black community for their protests. Socialist workers must help rally the labor movement to fight for the interests of working farmers, and to reach out to win their support for strikes and struggles around democratic rights.

## IV. THE 1980 SWP ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE WORKING-CLASS ALTERNATIVE

Millions of American working people are angry over the devastating consequences of the brutal antilabor policies of the White House and Democratic-controlled Congress. The 1980 elections pose the question: Whose class interests are served by the Democratic and Republican parties?

The union bureaucracy tells workers that the road forward is the election of "friends of labor" within the capitalist two-party system. They will again try to rally the labor movement and its allies behind Carter, Kennedy, or some other Democratic—or in a few cases, Republican—politician.

The petty-bourgeois misleaders of the Black, Chicano, and women's organizations follow in the tow of the trade-union bureaucracy and capitalist politicians. They tell the oppressed: "Register to vote! Use your political power at the polls! Put our Democratic Party friends in office!"

The Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, on the other hand, explains the class character of national and international politics. We explain how the working class can resolve the crises faced by the oppressed and exploited. We explain why labor, Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, and activists in all progressive social struggles should stop supporting the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Subordination to the big-business parties and capitalist government generalizes politically the union bureaucracy's entire class collaborationist course.

Our proposal for the unions to organize an independent labor party generalizes politically *our* class-struggle alternative to this course.

We explain that the employers are organized politically. They are the ruling class, not just the owning and employing class. They preserve, extend, and enforce their exploitation and oppression through their control over the government. The Democratic and Republican two-party system is the political vehicle for this control.

At the same time, the capitalists use their monopoly over political life to mask their class rule with the illusion of democratic choice and decision making. But this mask is wearing thinner.

While there is mounting dissatisfaction with the capitalist parties in the ranks of the labor movement, there are no signs of any organized preparation for the formation of a labor party. What *does* exist in the unions today, however, is a greater willingness among industrial workers to consider why labor must, and how it can, take the lead in combatting the rulers' austerity drive, war preparations, and attacks on equality and democratic rights. There is growing openness among workers to discussion about the need for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Through the 1980 election campaign, the SWP will gain a broader hearing for our class-struggle

perspective of transforming the unions. Hard hats and tool boxes around the country will sport Pulley and Zimmermann stickers, and workers in factories, mills, and mines will be wearing "Vote Socialist Workers" T-shirts.

Our labor party proposal helps draw together the working-class solutions we put forward around the threat of war, unemployment, inflation, race and sex discrimination, the energy crisis, and so on. It explains the kind of mass political vehicle workers and their allies need to put labor on the path toward fighting effectively for those solutions. It helps point to the goal of workers, not capitalists, organizing and governing society and implementing policies that benefit the great majority.

### Objective Need for a Labor Party

To challenge the rulers' monopoly over governmental power, or even defend the immediate interests of the workers, a narrow trade-union framework is by itself increasingly insufficient. From the time of Marx, socialists have explained that the fight for a shorter workweek, to cite just one example, is a political fight. It cannot be effectively conducted through union action alone—least of all if the unions are tied to the parties of the employing class, which squeezes profits from lengthening the workweek. The same is true of the fight for other immediate, democratic, and transitional demands.

Socialists explain that every step to strengthen the unions, every step to fight back effectively in the workers' interests, every step to throw union weight into progressive social struggles, runs into political obstacles because of subordination to the parties of the oppressors. These same obstacles block the road forward for Blacks, Latinos, women, and working farmers.

Thus the SWP election campaign explains that a labor party based on the unions is a pressing *objective need* of American working people.

Socialists do not call for a labor party as a substitute for specific action proposals to defend workers from the antilabor onslaught. Strikes, demonstrations, and other forms of mass action are indispensable in advancing the interests of labor and its allies. But through these struggles, trade unionists are confronted with the need for independent political organization and action.

This necessity is just as immediate for the unions as the need to champion affirmative action or defend the right to strike. Without such a political perspective, the fight for affirmative action and the right to strike is hampered and will ultimately be lost.

It is impossible to understand or to combat the class collaborationism of the union bureaucracy without grappling with its political expression. Thus the need for a labor party will be posed right from the outset by emerging class-struggle forces in the unions.

A powerful base for a labor party already exists: the unions. They have millions of members, established newspapers, and financial resources. They have far more of a ready-made base than either the Democratic or Republican parties had at the time of their founding in the nineteenth century. It's a *realistic* perspective.

A labor party will not come into being simply because it is objectively needed, however, or because it already has a potential organized base. Some section of the union movement, a vanguard, must act to get a labor party started.

It is useful to remember how the mass industrial union movement got off the ground. It started with local organizing battles such as those in San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Toledo in 1934. These initiatives in a few cities, a few unions, and a few industries set an example that was emulated nationwide.

The first steps toward a labor party can occur in a similar fashion—as an independent labor campaign based on a particular union or union local, or in a particular city. Yet if such an initiative has a clear perspective, it will have the potential to set an example that can spread to other unions and other parts of the country.

When socialist candidates speak before powerfully organized components of the industrial unions, they explain that a labor party is a realistic and necessary step that could begin in *this* union, in *this* city, and *today*. When the union misleaders claim that the only realistic course is to support a Democrat, they are holding back the use of union power, just as they do on the shop floor and at the bargaining table.

Our candidates explain to Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, antinuclear activists, and oth-

ers how the goals they are fighting for could be advanced if the labor movement broke from the parties of the exploiters and struck out on an independent political course. We explain how it is in their interests to champion this idea and propose it to the unions, as they solicit support for their struggles.

While the unions encompass a minority of the workers, a labor party firmly based on the organized section of the working class has the potential to draw from, unify, and lead the vast majority of workers along with the allies of labor. Labor political independence is necessary for class solidarity, since the "trade-offs" demanded of the unions by capitalist politicians always entail sacrificing the interests of some layer of the workers or oppressed. In contrast, a labor party could appeal to and seek to involve in its leadership Black and Latino fighters, women's rights activists, working farmers, and other allies of labor.

### Blacks, Latinos, & the Labor Party

Thus, the perspective of a labor party is today the best way to pose to Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed national minorities the need for a massive break from political subordination to their oppressors. It is the expression on the political level of the growing need for proletarian leadership of the struggles of the oppressed national minorities; of their growing need to turn to the labor movement and demand that it use its power in their struggles.

Given the vanguard role that Black and Latino workers are playing in the struggles leading toward transforming the unions, they will also be in the forefront of the class-struggle-minded unionists who understand the need for a labor party.

Socialist Workers Party candidates explain that a labor party would have a multinational membership and leadership. In many major cities oppressed national minorities would constitute a majority or near majority of such a party. A labor party could champion and take the lead in struggles for school busing and expanded quality public education; for decent low-cost housing; to sweep aside the Ku Klux Klan, killer cops, and other reactionary forces; for equality and justice on all fronts. It could mobilize and fight around the broad social and political problems facing the working class—problems that weigh heaviest on the doubly and triply exploited layers of the class.

At various points over the past fifteen years there has been motion toward a political break from the capitalist parties in the Black and Chicano communities. The Freedom Now Party in Detroit, a few independent Black candidacies, and the Raza Unida parties in Texas and other parts of the Southwest were politically advanced expressions of the civil rights and nationalist struggles of the 1960s and opening of the 1970s. They expressed the rising nationalist aspirations among Blacks and Chicanos—overwhelmingly proletarian nationalities—and were an attempt to find an alternative to the losing political strategy of reliance on the Democrats and Republicans.

The SWP responded enthusiastically to these small beginnings of independent Black and Chicano political parties. We urged other Black and Chicano fighters to emulate them by breaking with the big-business parties in order to advance the struggle for equality and liberation.

This approach also pointed toward independent working-class political action by the labor movement. We contrasted the steps toward independent politics by sections of the Black and Chicano movement to the union bureaucracy's slavish refusal to break with the parties responsible for class exploitation and racial oppression.

Had the Freedom Now Party nucleus in Detroit grown in the mid-1960s, for example, it would have begun to undermine the viability of the Democratic Party and upset the capitalist two-party equilibrium. This would have had an impact not only on the city's many Black workers, but on white workers as well. It would have posed the question of independent working-class political action in the UAW and other unions.

But none of the initial vanguard nuclei of independent Black political parties were able to surmount the obstacles they faced.

Had the leadership of the Texas Raza Unida Party developed a program and political orientation toward the masses of working-class Chicanos and the labor movement, it too could have sharply posed the question of labor political independence. The future of the Chicano struggle is increasingly tied to involving labor in the fight and inspiring a new generation of proletarian leaders to step forward in revitalizing the movement. The RUP, however, failed to orient in this direction and has been unable to overcome the obstacles the ruling class used to block motion toward independent working-class politics. This has led to the current crisis and decline of the RUP.

The absence of any motion toward a Black or Chicano party and the growing centrality of the industrial working class and its unions in the fightback against the rulers' offensive make the perspective of a labor party—not a Black or Chicano party—the best way today to explain the need for a break with the capitalist parties. Vanguard Black and Chicano workers who understand the need for a political alternative to the Democrats and Republicans can get a hearing in the unions, including among their white co-workers.

If Black or Chicano candidates run for office independent of the capitalist parties, the SWP will call for a vote for them when their political program and actions advance an understanding of the necessary political line of march for the oppressed and exploited.

Explaining the labor party correctly can also help workers understand the particular character of the coming American revolution. That revolution will conquer as the culmination of a united fight by the working class for a *workers* government—a government with the *combined* political tasks of expropriating the capitalist class, ensuring the right of self-determination to the oppressed Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican national minorities, and leading the oppressed



Carlton Horner, UAW organizer, and workers at General Motors plant in Oklahoma City celebrate vote for UAW in representation election. This was significant breach in "open shop" South.



and exploited to take hold of their own destinies by spurring forward a profound social revolution that will transform all social relations. Such a deepgoing socialist revolution can only be led by a revolutionary, multinational, proletarian party—one that reflects the vanguard of the American working class.

### Women & Independent Labor Action

The National Organization for Women (NOW) must orient toward the needs of women fighting their way into industry, women of the oppressed national minorities, and other working-class women. It must not subordinate this course in any way to the needs of the capitalist politicians or the class-collaborationist strategy of the labor bureaucracy.

The current NOW leadership has charted the opposite course and led the women's movement into an impasse. This finds its political expression in their support to the parties of the employers. By discussing the labor party idea in NOW, socialists help pinpoint a key source of this impasse in the leadership's reliance on the capitalist parties and politicians, rather than on an action alliance of women and the labor movement.

Nonetheless, the political task of NOW is not to form a labor party. This can only be done by the unions. Nor is advocacy of a labor party a substitute for actions and educational campaigns that help link the struggles of women with the power of the unions and bring that power into the fight for the ERA, abortion rights, and child care.

Socialists seek to popularize the idea of a labor party in NOW, as well as in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and women's rights committees in the unions. During the 1980 election campaign we will present it as the alternative perspective to the proposal by the current misleaders of women's rights organizations that women support the candidates of the two capitalist parties that perpetuate their oppression. We will urge women to champion the idea and raise it in their discussions with unionists. And we will urge support to the SWP ticket as the only voice that points the way forward for women's rights.

### Class-Collaborationist Politics

A revolutionary working-class party cannot be built in this country apart from the fight for a class-struggle left wing in the unions, which includes the perspective of an independent labor party. Workers who support the labor party idea today will be attracted to the SWP as the most vocal and clear-sighted advocate of independent working-class political action. The actual initiation of a labor party would dramatically shift the relationship of class forces in this country, opening the way to more rapid growth of the revolutionary-socialist party.

Proponents of a labor party today meet hostility from the labor officialdom, which remains committed to the capitalist two-party system. Independent working-class political action is incompatible with their goal of "class peace" through stable "labor-management cooperation."

Sensing the rank-and-file discontent with the bitter fruits of this class collaborationism, some union bureaucrats such as Winpisinger and Fraser are pleading for the ruling class to ease up a bit on its antilabor offensive, which makes it more difficult for them to head off motion toward a class-struggle left wing and independent labor political action. Fraser has publicly warned the Democratic administration that sentiment for a labor party already exists and is growing in the ranks of the unions.

Working-class discontent with the antilabor policies of the Democrats and Republicans has created the climate in which the executive council of the California Federation of Labor in September 1979 voted unanimously to "give serious consideration" to the idea of a labor party. The CFL Executive Council authorized its top officer, John Henning, to call a conference of state and local officers of labor councils to discuss the idea further and urged that such discussions take place throughout the California labor movement.

The proposal for a class break from the Democratic Party, however, finds no support among the Social Democratic, Stalinist, and other petty-bourgeois radical currents that orient to the top level and secondary union officials, rather than to the ranks. The Communist Party calls instead

for an "antimonopoly coalition." Support to "antimonopoly" Democrats is an explicit part of the Stalinists' strategy, which attempts to dress up this form of class collaborationism as "independent" political action.

The petty-bourgeois left manufactures many justifications for supporting Black Democrats, "feminist" Democrats, "ecology" Democrats, "labor" Democrats, and—a small but growing category—"socialist" Democrats. When no capitalist candidate can be turned into one of these bogus "progressive" Democrats, the necessity to "beat the right at all costs" is used as an excuse to either openly or backhandedly support the "lesser evil."

This continued reliance on the parties and politicians of the employing class is part of the crisis of political direction among petty-bourgeois radicals in this country. It flows out of their alienation from and total lack of confidence in the American working class as the central force for social and political change.



Militant/Eric Simpson  
Striking shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, rally during their strike for union recognition, March 2, 1979.

## V. THE CRISIS OF PETTY-BOURGEOIS POLITICS

As the ruling-class offensive has escalated since the mid-1970s, and the international class struggle has intensified, liberal and radical figures and petty-bourgeois organizations on the left have expressed deepening pessimism, cynicism, and political retreat. To one extent or another, this entire milieu would chime in with the recent assessment used by the International Socialists to justify liquidating their newspaper:

"Looking back, the 70's, in America, have been a decade of reaction and repression: of white backlash and economic hardship; of double digit inflation and deep recession; of ROAR and Bakke; of wage freezes and union capitulation; of anti-abortion legislation and Anita Bryant; Nixon and Watergate; The New Right and the KKK."

This despairing perspective is derived from that presented by the liberal ideologues of the ruling class. It focuses on one side of the class polarization in this country and presents it as the entire reality. But it is not.

There is a rightward shift by the capitalists and an austerity and antilabor offensive. But there is also resistance. The consciousness of masses of working people and their willingness to act is changing under the impact of the capitalist crisis.

The liberals and petty-bourgeois radicals see the KKK assembling in white robes, but not the demonstrations by Blacks and militant anti-Klan resistance organized from Decatur, Alabama, to Middletown, Ohio. They see the attempt to extend right-to-work-for-less laws north and west, but not the changes in the South. They see government frame-ups and the drive to legalize FBI crimes, but not the impact of the SWP's suit against the FBI and other successful defense efforts. They see the defeat suffered by the Eritrean struggle, but not the smashing victory of the Ethiopian and Cuban forces in turning

back the imperialist-inspired Somalian invasion of the Ogaden. They see reactionary clergy in Iran, but not the rebellious Kurds and militant oil workers. They see the ruling class's aggressive foreign policy but not the deep-going anti-war sentiments of the workers.

The petty-bourgeois radicals do not recognize that it is the political atmosphere created by "mainstream" Democratic and Republican politicians that accounts for the greater boldness of reactionary warmongers and outfits such as the Ku Klux Klan, "right to life," and "right to work" forces. They falsely portray these ultraright-wingers as the voice of conservative trends and backlash in the American working class, to which the ruling-class politicians are merely responding.

Bourgeois liberalism, to which this milieu ultimately looks, is disintegrating as a viable alternative because of the ruling class's inability and unwillingness to grant major concessions. The petty-bourgeois radicals tremble before the ruling-class offensive and are dragged to the right in the rulers' undertow. Consciously or not, they begin a political retreat. This is especially noticeable around vacillations on issues such as abortion and affirmative action, support for "conservation of energy," and turning away from defense of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions.

The vast majority of the liberal and radical milieu have not been affected by the deepening class consciousness and combativity in the working class because they have little contact with it. The Sadlowski campaign in the USWA, the miners' strike, the Newport News organizing drive, the Weber victory, growing union participation in protest actions are seen as things that "they" do, not "us." They are good "causes," not the action of "our class." Far from recognizing the developing class consciousness and self-confidence of the working class, they project their own moods of despair, demoralization, and self-absorption, onto the entire American population.

They reject the idea that the organized economic and political power of American labor—and only that power—can transform society. Moreover, there is growing skepticism that the working class is the most progressive social force on earth. They are not positive they want the working class to rule. They are not at all sure they want to replace the "democratic" dictatorship of capital with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

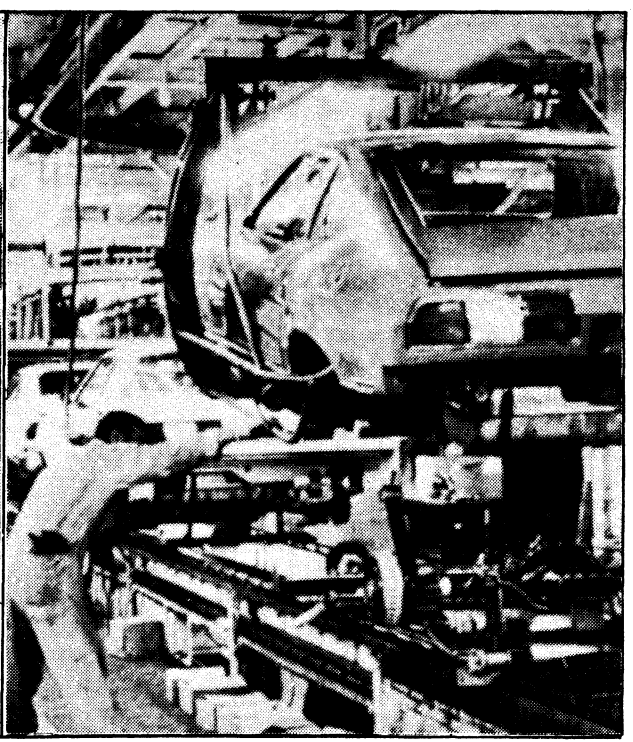
The rightward shift of this entire milieu is reflected in the academic and professional circles that claim to agree with a "Marxist framework." Their direction as a social layer is not toward, but away from, the working class.

Petty-bourgeois individualism elevates personal over political solutions. All sorts of class-collaborationist schemes and middle-class nostrums proliferate. Related to this is the reinforcement of utopian, mystical, religious, astrological, pseudoscientific, and other reactionary ideologies that the capitalists promote to retard class consciousness.

Behind the glorification of self-proclaimed "liberating" life-styles is an unspoken contempt for the working class. It reflects a complete lack of confidence in the capacity of the workers to take the lead in fighting to change society and open the door to transforming all human relations. Moreover, such "solutions" can flourish only outside the working class, among those with a combination of leisure and income. Those whose "life-styles" must adjust to working forty to sixty hours each week just to support themselves and their families don't have that luxury.

### Organized Political Opponents

The petty-bourgeois organizations that proclaim themselves as socialist, of course, do relate to the labor movement and participate in the unions. This is the case with the Communist Party, various organizations in the Maoist orbit, the Social Democrats, and assorted opportunist sects such as the International Socialists. These organizations, however, are affected by the same pressures and attitudes as the liberal and radical milieu in general because they do not look to politically organizing the ranks of the labor movement. Rather they seek to pressure or influence one or another section of the petty-bourgeois labor bureaucracy and those aspiring to enter it. They share the bureaucracy's disdain for the workers and believe the ranks are generally to the right of the "progressive" labor officials.



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

**Socialist Workers Party members are at center of class struggle today: among industrial workers in steel, auto, and other industries. Workers' opposition to new U.S. war moves will be major issue.**

The inability of this petty-bourgeois radical milieu to accurately assess or respond to the developing class polarization in this country and the advance of the world revolution was seen in the devastating impact on them of events in Southeast Asia in 1979. The reaction of many can only be described as a social-patriotic collapse in front of Washington's anticommunist propaganda offensive as the Indochinese revolution deepened and the reactionary Pol Pot regime was overthrown.

The Moscow- and Peking-oriented Stalinists, aping the competition between their mentors for the good graces of U.S. imperialism, pointed the finger of blame at each other. The *Guardian* newsweekly's tilt toward Pol Pot in the Kampuchean war and increasing rightward shift brought to a head dissension among its staff members and organized supporters, and several prominent writers resigned.

The response of much of the U.S. left was summed up on a leaflet by a number of veteran New York radicals and pacifists who had been central leaders of the anti-Vietnam War movement. They bemoaned their "collective . . . sorrow, confusion and concern."

Though Carter made no significant headway in exploiting the Indochina events to erode antiwar sentiment among American workers, major sectors of the petty-bourgeois radical milieu adopted the same counterrevolutionary demand as imperialism: Vietnamese troops out of Kampuchea! When Peking invaded Vietnam at Washington's behest, the petty-bourgeois radicals failed to call for military aid to Vietnam from the Soviet Union. Many have thrown in their lot with imperialism's "boat people" hypocrisy, while saying nothing about Washington's efforts to starve the Vietnamese and Kampuchean masses into submission.

In other words, at every step of the way in imperialism's renewed offensive against the Indochinese revolution, the petty-bourgeois radical movement in this country failed the acid test for every American revolutionist: never lose sight of the fact that the main enemy is at home.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were the only organizations on the American left that kept the spotlight on the role of U.S. imperialism. The fact that many radicals did not even recognize the convergence of their slogans with Washington's line and objectives makes them even more susceptible to new rationalizations for U.S. war preparations.

This political apathy and underestimation of the threat posed by U.S. imperialism also helps explain the initial generally humdrum reaction to the Nicaraguan revolution. Aside from the SWP and YSA, no one on the American left has recognized the importance of the revolutionary process initiated by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants under the leadership of the Sandinistas. The radical press has not filled its pages with first-hand reports from Nicaragua, as the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have done. They have not thrown their efforts into the campaign to get humanitarian aid for war-devastated Nicaragua, including demanding massive shipments from Washington. Nor have they sounded the alarm against the danger of direct and indirect

U.S. military intervention to stop the Nicaraguan masses from toppling capitalism and establishing the second workers state in this hemisphere. There are no signs of any motion toward revolutionary politics by any of the existing radical organizations, or by any currents inside them. But thousands of individual members and supporters of these groups have been shaken. Some are open, for the first time, to considering our answers. Moreover, many young workers who have read their newspapers, talked to them on the job, or otherwise become interested in socialist ideas, are likewise affected.

As we meet these workers in the course of our activity, SWP members will have an opportunity to discuss and debate all the big questions of world politics with them and explain our program. Our revolutionary optimism—grounded in a materialist view of the world and a realistic perspective for how to change it—makes us a pole of attraction to young workers interested in radical and scientific ideas. This will be increasingly true as our petty-bourgeois opponents in the labor movement get more and more out of step with American labor. To take full advantage of this we need to debate their positions and answer them politically in our press.

Fundamentally, there are three roads open to the crisis-ridden American left today: (1) out of working-class politics altogether; (2) toward the Stalinists or Social Democrats and the petty-bourgeois labor bureaucracies; or (3) toward the working class and the revolutionary proletarian party, the Socialist Workers Party.

## VI. THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The American workers can defeat the capitalist war drive, the austerity and antilabor offensive, and crackdown on rights. They can win governmental power and use it to organize the revolutionary transformation of society on a socialist basis.

The Socialist Workers Party is gathering the cadres for the revolutionary combat party that can lead our class to accomplish its historic tasks. That party must be proletarian in composition. If it is not, its program will not weather the storm of bourgeois pressures and petty-bourgeois vacillations that increasingly batter the American left. Without a proletarian membership and tested leadership, no party can preserve and develop its proletarian program in the heat of the class battles ahead.

The SWP's turn to the new political openings in the industrial working class marks the end of the relative isolation from our class imposed on us by the political retreat of labor that began in the late 1940s. We are becoming a party whose members live, work, and struggle each day as part of the working class. We are becoming a party of workers whose neighbors, friends, and political collaborators are workers. We are becoming a party that will recruit the best of a new generation of class-struggle fighters to our ranks.

The proletarianization of the party is essential to the recruitment and development of a party whose membership and leadership are multinational in composition. It is decisive to the devel-

opment of leaders of the party who are women. It is the road to winning the combative youth who are the future of our class.

The proletarianization of the party opens the door for growing numbers of socialist workers to bring a working-class strategy and political leadership to the struggles of the oppressed nationalities and women. It brings closer the revitalization of massive social movements led by Black, Latino, and women workers. It makes it more possible for the working-class vanguard to bring a winning perspective into the fight against nuclear power, to defend democratic rights, to act in solidarity with the world revolution, and to struggle around other issues facing working people.

Proletarianization of the SWP enhances the attraction of young workers, employed and unemployed, and of high school and college students, to the Young Socialist Alliance, which is the revolutionary youth organization in political agreement with the SWP.

The Socialist Workers Party is well on the road to becoming a party composed in its vast majority of worker-Bolshevik cadres who will earn the respect and confidence of the working class and its allies in the most important class battles in history. We will contribute to the arsenal of our class the lessons of the revolutionary workers movement handed down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky and the legacy of uncompromising political clarity and leadership in class combat of more than fifty years of American Trotskyism.

The crisis of working-class leadership remains the central problem of our epoch. Over the past two decades, currents arising out of revolutionary democratic struggles in the semicolonial world—the Castro leadership in Cuba and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua—have bypassed the reformists to the left, showing in action that the alternative for opponents of capitalism and imperialism is not one or another variant of Moscow or Peking Stalinism, social democracy, or bourgeois nationalism. This has been an important contribution toward breaking the grip of the class-collaborationists on the international workers movement.

The cadres of the Fourth International—armed with the program, strategy, and methods of the Transitional Program, and determined to build proletarian parties to lead the workers to political power in each country—have an irreplaceable role to play in resolving the crisis of working-class leadership by helping to forge a mass international party out of the revolutionary parties and currents that have arisen and will continue to arise as the global class struggle accelerates.

Deepening our party's turn, so that the overwhelming majority of our members are industrial workers, will be an example and inspiration throughout the world revolutionary movement. The development of the Socialist Workers Party here in the bastion of imperialism is a decisive part of building the international revolutionary workers party necessary for the triumph of world socialism.



## Actions in forty cities

# Unions organize Oct.17 energy protests

By Nancy Cole

Stop Big Oil protests are planned in more than forty cities on October 17.

"It's growing faster than we can keep up with," reports Jack Corrigan from the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition's coordinating center in Washington, D.C. "Every day we get a call from some other group that wants to organize an action for October 17."

The protests are part of the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices, which is sponsored by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and by the Progressive Alliance. The CLEC is headed by

For information on Stop Big Oil protests in your area, contact the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition at 1300 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 833-4296.

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and the Progressive Alliance by Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers.

The October 17 activities are endorsed by a host of unions and organizations across the nation.

"Next month hundreds of thousands of union members will join representatives from citizens organizations to protest skyrocketing prices of gasoline and heating oil," reported the September *Steel Labor*, newspaper of the United Steelworkers.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union's *Labor Unity* noted, "That protest will undoubtedly be fueled by recently-released government reports that show that oil imports into the U.S. actually increased by 9% in the first six months of 1979, and that the Iranian political upheaval had virtually no effect on foreign oil supplies to U.S. refineries."

For UAW members, October 17 is the second nationally focused action against the oil ripoff. On August 22, some 1 million auto workers stopped



Members of United Auto Workers picket General Motors Tech Center in Warren, Michigan, this past summer. The UAW is among unions organizing October 17 protests.

work for six minutes to send protest postcards to Carter and Congress.

In reporting the August action, *UAW Solidarity* said, "UAW leaders have urged local unions to begin planning specific programs in their areas" for October 17.

Stop Big Oil activities will take a variety of forms from rallies and marches to vigils at oil company offices and "big oil discredit card" turn-ins.

At an August meeting, the King County Labor Council in the Seattle area voted to set up a Mobilization Task Force "to develop a local program in mass protest against the energy price blackmail on October 17. . . ."

District 751 of the IAM in the Seattle area is putting one worker from each of the four Boeing production plants on full-time staff to build the protest activities.

In Charleston, West Virginia, the state AFL-CIO will recess its convention October 17 so that delegates can join a march on the state capitol aimed against Big Oil and its biggest representative in the state, Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV.

An October 17 noontime rally at the Federal Building in Chicago will feature Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden. At the last executive board meeting of UAW Region 4, where October 17 was a big topic of discussion, it was reported that plans are under way to bus in second and third shift workers to the rally.

October 17 protest cities also include New York, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, St. Paul, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Denver, New Orleans, and Kansas City.

The southern regional center for the

Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition in Louisville reports that six cities in Florida and four in North Carolina will hold activities, in addition to Atlanta, Birmingham, and Columbia, South Carolina.

The Citizens' Energy Program of the two national sponsoring coalitions includes three basic planks: 1) roll back prices, 2) force the oil companies to work at full capacity and appoint a special prosecutor to investigate phony shortages, and 3) establish a taxpayer owned energy corporation.

Demands such as to open the oil

companies' books to public inspection and nationalize the industry are also part of the formal and informal discussion among unionists leading up to the protests.

A full-page ad in the September newspaper of the United Food and Commercial Workers union explains that the October 17 protests will demand "that the oil companies be forced to open their books and disclose their price and profit structures."

The AFL-CIO executive council declared in August that if the oil monopoly "fails to adequately serve the public interest, consideration should be given to nationalization of the industry."

After a debate at the Massachusetts State Labor Council convention, which ended September 29, a resolution was approved that went even further, calling for "immediate nationalization" of the oil industry. The convention also endorsed the October 20 energy protest in Boston.

One rank-and-file auto worker, Barney Sanchez from the General Motors plant in La Grange, Illinois, put it this way: "Workers here are changing their views about private business," he told *Solidarity*. "They used to think the government should stay out. Now they want the government to step in. Profits must be controlled, and the best way is by having the government run the oil industry."

"The government isn't perfect," he continued, "but at least we elect it. Who elects the owners of Exxon?"

## IUE emergency meeting: 'Mad about oil rip-off'

By Kip Hedges

LYNN, Mass.—An emergency public meeting on the oil crisis is scheduled here for October 11.

Speakers will include Al Hamilton, president of Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and Peter DiCicco, president of IUE District 2.

Also invited to present their views are Lt. Gov. Thomas O'Neill, U.S. Sen. Paul Tsongas, and William Paff, president of White Fuel, the major oil distributor in the North Shore area.

The meeting is being organized by a coalition that includes the consumer group Fair Share and Local 201, which represents workers at the giant General Electric plant here.

Local 201 has advertised the meet-

ing in its newspaper and is planning a massive leafleting of the four GE plants in the area. The local also ran an ad in the Lynn newspaper, the *New Paper*, where the union declared, "People are going to come to the meeting to express their anger about the oil companies' arrogance toward New England residents. The oil companies had better recognize and respond to our demands now or face stronger measures later."

Many of my co-workers at the GE plant in Lynn say they will definitely be at the rally. One said, "This will be the first time I've been able to tell anyone important just how mad I am about the oil ripoff. And I've got a lot to tell."

The October 11 meeting will be held at 7:30 p.m. at St. Michael's Hall, Elmwood Avenue in Lynn.



## Turnout is low as auto workers ratify GM pact

By Shelley Kramer

With two locals not yet reporting their results, the United Auto Workers announced September 30 that the union's new three-year contract with General Motors had been ratified by a two-to-one margin. The official count was 129,374 to 59,391.

The UAW ratifies by the "unit rule." Under this procedure all the votes of a local are counted for ratification if a majority—no matter how narrow—so votes. Votes counted for rejection, therefore, represent only those locals where a majority voted against the contract.

Only 41 percent of the 460,000 eligible UAW members voted. In 1976, 55 percent of Ford workers voted on their contract, which was that year's pattern-setter.

UAW President Douglas Fraser and Vice-president Irving Bluestone ex-

plained the low turnout this year by saying that most GM workers "figured the ratification vote would carry."

But reports from GM locals across the country indicate that the union's nonvoting majority included many thousands who don't like the terms—but who saw no prospect of forcing a better settlement by voting this one down.

Members of Local 239 at Baltimore's Broening Highway plant voted the contract down by a two-to-one margin. Members of Local 595 at GM's Linden, New Jersey, plant followed their local leadership's recommendation to reject by turning the contract down 1,450 to 675.

The 10,000-member Local 1112 in Lordstown, Ohio, also rejected the agreement with 79 percent of production workers and 82 percent of skilled trades workers voting no. Here the

local leadership distributed leaflets to the predominately young workforce calling attention to the contract's attacks upon the wages and rights of new hires. Lordstown workers—who by January will be producing ninety cars an hour—are also angry about the lack of restrictions on speedup and forced overtime.

Local 25 in St. Louis approved the pact—but not without vocal opposition. At a meeting September 30, members spoke out against the contract's pension funds, its 3 percent wage increase in a period of 13 percent inflation and its threatened clamp-down on absenteeism.

When confronted with GM's attacks against new hires, Missouri state UAW Community Action Program Director Merv Box—a member of the national bargaining committee—answered that, "new hires are not going to be an

issue." Why? Because, said Box, so many new workers will be laid off that it won't matter how little they earn!

Welles Todd, a member of Local 664 at GM's Tarrytown, New York, plant, told more than sixty people attending a September 30 New York *Militant* forum about the UAW contract and why he was voting no.

"Going to these plants every day," said Todd, "is like going into battle—battle against the speedup, the machinery, the unsafe conditions, the foremen. Yet our union leaders settled for this contract without a fight, not even a skirmish. We should have done what the miners did in 1978: read our contract ahead of time, discuss it in union meetings, vote it down, and mobilize the power of our union—and the solidarity of all labor—for an organized battle against GM."

## Iran judge tries to justify jailing socialists

By Janice Lynn

The international outcry against the arrests and sentencing of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist—HKS) has forced the Khomeini-Bazargan government into a public debate in the pages of *Baamdad*, one of Tehran's major dailies.

Twelve of the HKS members were sentenced to death in a secret tribunal on August 26. Two women members were given life imprisonment.

Amidst the world protests against the sentences, Iran's Vice-premier Sadeq Tabatabai issued a statement accusing the socialist prisoners of being connected to armed actions and explosions of oil pipelines. These false charges were answered in a widely publicized statement by HKS leader Babak Zahraie.

The latest government statement on the case was reported in the September 15 issue of *Baamdad*, which published

the text of a letter by Ahmad Janati, judge of the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Khuzestan Province, where the socialists are imprisoned. The letter, addressed to Prosecutor General Ghodosi, demonstrates that the government has no evidence whatsoever of crimes committed by the HKS. The charges focus solely on the party's political views.

In his letter, Janati admits that the two women HKS prisoners, Fatima Fallahi and Mahsa Hashemi, were tried in secret. "... the socialist girls in no way cooperated with the investigation, refusing to accept the court's ruling, and they stubbornly refused to stand trial," he claims. "For this reason they were tried in absentia."

Janati denies the twelve men were sentenced to death. "... six of the boys were summoned to stand trial," he writes. "It was an open trial, and was recorded by the radio and television stations. The trial lasted four hours, and the next session of the trial has not yet been set. The others have not yet been summoned to stand trial."

But if it was an "open" trial, recorded by the media, why wasn't it broadcast on radio and TV to the Iranian people? Why weren't the defendants allowed attorneys, witnesses, and observers? In fact, the news of the trials was announced to the media by the HKS. Only then did the government admit a portion of the real facts.

The bulk of Janati's letter is an attempt to prove the fourteen socialists are guilty of "counterrevolutionary instigation in Kurdistan, Turkman Sahra, and Khuzestan." But he is unable to present a single example of illegal activity. His entire "proof" rests on the political ideas of the HKS.

"It is not a difficult task to prove they were involved in instigation," the letter states. "It is enough to read their written statements to understand their aims. It is precisely written that their goals are: 'freedom, support for the workers and toilers, Kurds, Baluchis,



Militant/Alexis Irizarry

Members of the Committee to Defend the HKS 14 gather signatures at a pro-independence rally of 30,000 in Lares, Puerto Rico. Among those adding their support to the demand for the immediate release of the imprisoned socialists were the four Puerto Rican Nationalists recently released from U.S. jails.

### How to help

Telegrams protesting the death sentences given the twelve HKS prisoners in Ahwaz and demanding the immediate release of all fourteen socialists should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24, Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran; to *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and *Kayhan*, Ferdowsi Avenue, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should also be sent to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.

Arabs. . . ."

These are major goals of the HKS. Far from being counterrevolutionary or illegal, however, they are the aims for which the Iranian masses by the millions fought in their heroic overthrow of the shah last February.

Janati goes on to attack the political stands of the HKS, citing articles in the Trotskyists' newspaper *Kargar* (Worker). The socialists are accused of:

- Defending agrarian reform and other progressive measures taken by the government in Afghanistan and opposing the right-wing guerrilla movement there.

- Printing an article by an oil worker who states the masses will look for alternatives if the Khomeini-Bazargan government fails to meet their demands.

- Defending the Kurdish struggle and condemning in *Kargar* the "Western-built Phantom jets and armed helicopters that are bombing and killing children, women, and de-

fenseless men in Kurdistan. . . ."

- Stating that "the Arabs are armed in self-defense and to protect the gains of the revolution."

- Publishing a statement by the Ninety-second Armored Division in Ahwaz, which said that "some people are consciously trying to provoke us soldiers, by distorting the facts, and to use us to smash the Arab nationalist movement."

Such political views, Janati charges, will result in "a government that is communist in appearance, and pro-American in reality."

He concludes by threatening new charges against the prisoners: "By considering the above points, and others that may be announced at a later date, there should be no objections to their being in prison."

The lives of the fourteen socialist prisoners thus remain in the gravest danger. International protests must continue to force the Iranian government to free them.

## October 14 national march for gay rights

By Harry Ring

Support is growing for the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. To be held Sunday, October 14, the march will be the first nationwide demonstration in support of full civil rights for lesbians and gays.

Organizations supporting the march include the National Organization for Women, National Gay Task Force, Americans for Democratic Action, Metropolitan Community Church, National Women's Political Caucus, American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Individual endorsers include Marion Barry, mayor of Washington, D.C.; U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums; Harry Britt, San Francisco supervisor; attorneys

Florynce Kennedy and William Kunstler; Gloria Steinem of *Ms.* magazine; Huey Newton; Leonard Matlovich; novelist Rita Mae Brown; and author Allen Young.

The *Nation* magazine has given editorial endorsement to the march, and many gay newspapers, including *Gay Community News* and the *Advocate*, are publicizing the action.

The march will step off at noon from Fourth Street and Constitution Avenue, proceeding down Pennsylvania Avenue. A rally will begin at 2 p.m. at the Washington Monument end of the Mall.

Among those scheduled to speak at the rally are Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW; author Kate Millet; Rev. Troy Perry; Lucia Valeska, co-director of NGTF; and U.S. Rep. Theodore Weiss, an initiator of a congressional gay

rights bill. Singer Holly Near and others will provide entertainment.

Organized to press for "an end to all social, economic, judicial, and legal oppression of lesbian and gay people," the march will demand repeal of all antigay laws, passage of federal gay rights legislation, and a presidential order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in federal jobs, the military, and federally contracted private employment.

It will also call for an end to discrimination against lesbians and gays in child custody, and seek to "protect lesbian and gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress and/or harass them in their homes, schools, jobs and social environments."

Also on the weekend of October 12-15, the National Coalition of Black

Gays and the National Gay Task Force will sponsor a Third World Lesbian/Gay Conference. It will be held at Harambee House, 2225 Georgia Avenue NW in Washington.

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, have voiced their support to the march.

"The continuing refusal of the Democrats and Republicans to grant full civil and human rights to gays and lesbians is part and parcel of their assault on the democratic rights of all," the socialists said. "It is in the labor movement's own interest to champion the just cause of lesbian and gay rights."

"Supporters of our campaign will join with thousands of others in marching October 14 to demand government action to end discrimination against gays and lesbians."

## ...Ortega

Continued from page 4

designed to justify economic, political, and even military pressures against Nicaragua, he said. The truth is that "we Nicaraguans cannot prevent the joy that our victory awakened in the people of El Salvador."

In addition, Ortega spoke in favor of Puerto Rico's right to independence. He said that the maintenance of U.S. military bases on the island of Vieques

is a violation of human rights. Regarding the arrest of religious figures who oppose the U.S. presence on the island, Ortega stated: "We protest this repressive escalation against the patriots of Puerto Rico."

He also affirmed his support for the struggle of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, South-West Africa People's Organization, and Polisario Front. Belize

also has the right, he added, to independence from Great Britain.

Ortega condemned the usurpation of Kampuchea's UN seat by the deposed Pol Pot regime, which he described as "guilty of genocide." In addition he denounced the attacks by the Chinese leadership against Vietnam.

Nicaragua is decisively breaking with the past Somozaist servility to imperialism. As Ortega stated in his

final remarks:

"We are struggling and we will continue to struggle without capitulation.

"We are struggling and we will continue to struggle for the advancement of our people.

"We are struggling and will continue to struggle for the defense of our revolution."

—From *Perspectiva Mundial*



# 'Militant' sales key in campaign to defend Cuba

By Peter Seidman

Today's *New York Times* reports that "a force of 1,600 to 1,800 marines" is "scheduled to go ashore at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba in mid-October." This U.S. combat brigade "plans to maneuver in small units, fire artillery and run tank exercises," according to the Defense Department.

This escalation of military threats against Cuba means that a different kind of army needs to step up its actions here in the United States—an army of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* salespeople.

We need to get out the truth about Washington's war moves among working people. Our co-workers have a big stake in stopping these U.S. threats against Cuba and the deepening revolution in Nicaragua. But before antiwar forces in the unions can go into action, they'll need the facts. And they'll need the answers to Carter's lies.

They won't find that kind of news and analysis in the big-business press. So every branch of the Socialist Workers Party and every Young Socialist Alliance chapter has a big job to do getting out the socialist press.

We won't have full results of the September 28-October 8 national sales blitz until next week. But about one-third of the areas participating report selling some 2,900 papers during the first weekend.

All indications are that during the week as a whole, we can catch up in our drive to sell 150,000 single and subscription copies of the *Militant* and *PM* by Thanksgiving (right now, we're about 11 percent behind where we should be).

During the opening weekend of the

target week, New York and New Jersey socialists sold nearly 1,300 papers. As in most cities, interest in the *Militant's* headline, "Blacks & the PLO," ran especially high. About 100 participants in a Queens protest against racist crossburnings bought the paper. So did 30 of the 100 Harlem residents who came to hear a speech by a representative of the PLO.

SWP organizer Jon Hillson reported a similar response in Newport News where, despite a belting rain, socialists going door to door in steelworker neighborhoods sold 180 *Militants*.

Another area that did well was Atlanta. Socialists there sold 123 *Militants* at an antinuclear protest in Barnwell, South Carolina.

We'll give final results for the target week in our next issue. Areas should remember that the circulation office is offering a bound volume of the *Militant* to the SWP branch with the highest per capita sales for the target week. Also, the paperback book from Pathfinder Press of their choice to the five top individual salespeople.

This week's scoreboard registers a certain leveling off after several successive weeks of increasing sales.

Hopefully target week results will produce another big jump on the scoreboard. Along with this we expect good sales at the October 17 union energy protests and the October 14 national march for lesbian and gay rights in Washington, D.C.

U.S. war moves against Cuba. Getting out the truth about Nicaragua. New breakthroughs in support for the Palestinians. The list of urgent reasons to circulate the *Militant* and *PM* is growing all the time.

## Sales scoreboard

City	Militant		PM		Totals			
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	% Ind.
Newark	125	244	25	3	150	247	164.6	5.7
New York City	445	729	105	112	550	841	152.9	*
Cincinnati	100	142	0	0	100	142	142.0	18.3
Portland	90	120	0	0	90	120	133.3	0.0
Dallas	90	94	30	62	120	156	130.0	7.7
Morgantown	100	118	0	0	100	118	118.0	12.7
Seattle	140	162	5	5	145	167	115.1	22.2
Detroit	200	216	10	12	210	228	108.5	30.3
Kansas City	110	121	7	5	117	126	107.6	4.8
Iron Range	75	80	0	0	75	80	106.6	21.3
Piedmont	75	80	0	0	75	80	106.6	21.3
Salt Lake City	110	114	5	7	115	121	105.2	7.4
Philadelphia	180	164	20	42	200	206	103.0	11.7
Albuquerque	115	115	25	25	140	140	100.0	11.4
Indianapolis	100	100	0	0	100	100	100.0	9.0
Los Angeles	270	260	80	90	350	350	100.0	15.1
San Diego	105	111	20	14	125	125	100.0	27.2
Washington, DC	140	127	35	43	175	170	97.1	0.6
St. Louis	100	93	0	0	100	93	93.0	10.8
Tacoma	125	100	0	6	125	106	84.8	10.4
Chicago	275	211	50	57	325	268	82.4	29.5
Twin Cities	225	183	0	1	225	184	81.7	13.6
Birmingham	150	117	0	0	150	117	78.0	16.2
Gary	90	72	10	6	100	78	78.0	35.9
Boston	175	133	15	11	190	144	75.7	9.7
Albany	100	74	5	3	105	77	73.3	27.3
New Orleans	100	75	5	0	105	75	71.4	22.7
Phoenix	120	81	40	31	160	112	70.0	32.1
San Francisco	200	130	50	43	250	173	69.2	9.2
Pittsburgh	200	136	0	2	200	138	69.0	23.9
Oakland/Berkeley	190	148	25	0	215	148	68.8	17.6
Houston	170	113	30	10	200	123	61.5	*
San Jose	85	56	40	19	125	75	60.0	8.0
Miami	100	47	30	27	130	74	56.9	0.0
San Antonio	50	29	15	7	65	36	55.3	*
Atlanta	125	65	0	0	125	65	52.0	7.7
Toledo	100	53	3	0	103	53	51.4	43.4
Baltimore	125	62	0	0	125	62	49.6	30.6
Tidewater	200	23	0	0	200	23	11.5	*
TOTALS	6010	5098	715	643	6725	5741	85.3	13.0

\* Figures not available.  
Not reporting: Cleveland, Denver, Louisville, Milwaukee.  
Covers sales of issue thirty-seven of the *Militant* and the second week of sales of issue seventeen of *Perspectiva Mundial*.  
"% Ind." indicates percentage of total reported sold at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

## ...Carter

Continued from page 3

exiles. The Cuban people smashed that invasion.

Now, with the sinister maneuvers at Guantánamo, the Carter administration is serving notice that next time it won't rely on proxies. The assault, if it comes, will be open and direct.

The justification for such aggression is the fraudulent claim that Cuba represents a military threat to the people of Central America. That's a straight case of trying to attribute your own crimes to others.

It was the U.S. government Marines, not Cuba, that fastened the Somoza tyranny on the Nicaraguan people.

It is the U.S. government, not Cuba, that maintains military dictators in power in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

And it is U.S. military and economic power, not Cuban, that keeps Puerto Rico an impoverished colony.

True, Cuba has openly and proudly proclaimed its solidarity with the freedom struggles of the people of these countries. But that's a threat to no one except the imperialist business interests whose profits are threatened by popular rebellions.

How does Cuba "threaten" Nicaragua? By sending food and medicine, doctors, and teachers?

Obviously, no working person would consider such humanitarian efforts a threat. Yet the U.S. ruling rich consider it deadly.

They fear the popular revolution in Nicaragua, and they fear its "domino" effect in Central America. They want to starve Nicaragua out. And Washington is maintaining thousands of Somoza's National Guard troops—armed and organized—across the border in El Salvador and Honduras, ready to strike at the revolution when their masters deem it timely.

That's why Carter is trying to thwart Cuban aid to Nicaragua. But

the Cubans, deeply committed to solidarity with Nicaragua, have refused to bow to his threats. So, with his hue and cry about Soviet "dominance" of Cuba, Carter is putting pressure on the Kremlin to curb Cuban solidarity efforts in Nicaragua and around the world.

Unfortunately, Carter knows he has leverage there. Moscow's record has established that it is ready to bargain away support for liberation movements in return for trade and diplomatic deals with Washington. It is precisely because Cuba's revolutionary actions are the opposite of Moscow's subservience to détente with imperialism that Carter speaks so vehemently of Kremlin "responsibility" to curb Cuba.

In addition, it can be safely assumed that in the secret negotiations it was made plain to the Soviet representative that if Moscow wants détente, it must itself refrain from aiding Nicaragua.

All of this represents a grave danger for the Nicaraguan revolution. Carter's warnings against "social turmoil and possible communist domination" in Central America can well be a smoke-screen for plans to invade Nicaragua.

Ominously, in recent days right-wing Somocista terrorists inside Nicaragua—obviously encouraged from outside—have stepped up their attacks.

Washington is also deeply aroused by Cuba's steadfast support for the independence aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico.

In true colonial tradition, the U.S. rulers insist the Puerto Rican people are "happy" with the chains that bind them to the U.S.

But they will know that the fierce superexploitation of the Puerto Rican people breeds a growing opposition to U.S. colonial rule.

Washington fears the spread of independence sentiment in Puerto Rico. While forced by worldwide pressure to free the four Puerto Rican Nationalists, the Carter administration vindictively jailed Puerto Rican indepen-

dence leader Juan Mari Brás last month on his way to argue Puerto Rico's case at the United Nations.

Cuba's political solidarity with the Puerto Rican independence movement and its readiness to spotlight the issue at world forums only increases the Cuban "threat" in Washington's eyes.

The immediate targets of Carter's war speech were Cuba and the Latin American freedom struggles. But Washington's counterrevolutionary aims are worldwide.

The rising liberation movements are not confined to Central America. They are gaining ground in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. American imperialism is fully determined to contain those movements—by any means necessary. That's the meaning of the Rapid Deployment Forces.

It is Washington's readiness to wage war anywhere it deems necessary and possible that also lies behind the hoax known as SALT.

To begin with, this "arms limitation" accord does not provide for any reduction in U.S. nuclear stockpiles. Its declared function is to regulate the

pace of further escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Despite Carter's assurance that "our strategic nuclear forces are powerful enough to destroy any potential adversary many times over," he is moving full speed ahead with the MX missile system, cruise missiles, multi-billion-dollar increases in the war budget, and other arms-race escalations.

SALT, for Washington, is an attempt to cloak itself in the mantle of "peace" while it prepares for war. Thus there is more than a little irony in Carter's statement that "the purpose of the SALT II treaty and the purpose of my actions in dealing with Soviet and Cuban military relationships are exactly the same."

The Kremlin, ready to subordinate all to its quest for détente, finds itself party to this cruel deception against humanity.

American working people have no stake in Carter's lies and war preparations. Our interests lie with the workers and peasants of Latin America struggling for freedom and social progress.

### NEW YORK

## Cuba events

### DEMONSTRATE TO

- End U.S. blockade against Cuba!
- Normalize U.S.-Cuba relations!
- U.S. military out of Guantánamo!

Place: UN Building at First Avenue  
(between 41st and 42nd streets)  
Time: 2 p.m.-6 p.m.  
Date: Friday, October 5

Sponsored by the Ad-Hoc Committee  
to End the Blockade of Cuba.  
Phone (212) 255-7920.

### CUBA TODAY

#### An eyewitness report

- Cuba's solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and Black struggles in Africa
- The Nonaligned Conference
- The dialogue with U.S. Cubans
- Carter's new threats

Speaker: José Pérez, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, recently visited Cuba as a member of the Antonio Maceo Brigade

Saturday, October 6, 7 p.m.  
Sponsored by Militant Forum  
108 East 16th Street, 2nd Floor (off Union Square East). Phone: (212) 260-6400. Donation \$2.

## DETROIT TEACHERS BACK TO CLASSES

After seventeen days on strike, 12,000 members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) returned to work September 27 pending ratification of a new contract.

The contract accepted by the DFT leadership is the same one that was turned down by the union two weeks ago, with two exceptions.

While the proposed three-year contract calls for a 7 percent wage increase the first year, and a 9 percent increase the second year, in the third year teachers are given the choice of accepting a 9 percent increase or reopening salary negotiations.

DFT members were demanding a cost-of-living clause. The wage reopener was the only concession the school board would make.

The Detroit teachers succeeded in getting the school board to back down on its proposed Detroit residency requirement for teachers. Under the terms of the proposed contract the issue of a residency requirement, for newly hired teachers only, would be submitted to further discussion and "fact finding."

## ILLINOIS MINE STRIKES

Strikes spread throughout southern and central Illinois coalfields beginning September 12.

About 5,800 of Illinois's 16,600 coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers (UMWA) were on strike.

Militant correspondent Jan-

## Thousands in anti-nuclear protests

Anti-nuclear demonstrators rallied in several cities over the September 28-30 weekend.

In West Valley, New York thirty-five miles southeast of Buffalo, 1,500 people protested plans to reopen a nuclear waste dump. The Nuclear Fuel Services reprocessing plant was abandoned by its owners, Getty Oil, leaving hundreds of thousands of gallons of highly radioactive wastes.

Militant correspondent Tom Fiske reports from Barnwell, South Carolina, that 1,300 people marched six and a half miles to three nuclear facilities on September 30. The three plants

together reprocess and store a large portion of the nation's nuclear waste.

"High level nuclear wastes are dangerous for tens of thousands of years," Fiske told the *Militant*.

"One 'high-level' waste storage tank at the Savannah River plant sprang over 300 leaks in less than fifteen years."

The demonstration was sponsored by the Southeastern Natural Guard, a coalition of twenty-five antinuclear groups in ten states.

In Zion, Illinois, 1,000 people rallied September 29 to demand the closing of the nuclear power plant there. Owned by Commonwealth

Edison of Chicago, the Zion plant has one of the worst safety records in the country.

Speakers included Sid Lens; Dennis Brutus, exiled Black South African poet; and William Vastine of the Three Mile Island Alert.

In Ann Arbor, Michigan, 150 people rallied at the Detroit Edison office September 28 to mark six months since the Three Mile Island near-meltdown. A statewide march and rally is planned for October 21 in Lansing.

Protests were also planned in England, France, and Japan.

JOHN DARLING



By Armstrong and Batiuk

ice Black reports that the two issues sparking the strike were a safety violation at Old Ben Coal Company Mine Number 27, near West Frankfort, Illi-

nois; and the firing of five workers for throwing up a picket line protesting the company's suspension of miners who refused to perform unsafe

jobs.

Miners began returning to work September 24, but in other Illinois mines, walkouts continue over local issues.

## Arizona residents protest radioactive tritium

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX—On September 30, an Arizona National Guard convoy arrived at the Navajo Army Depot outside Flagstaff to deposit thirty-nine barrels of radioactive tritium. The convoy was met by more than fifty protesting area residents with signs declaring, "We will not be a radioactive dumping ground" and "Thanks a lot, [Gov.] Bruce [Babbitt]."

The tritium came from the American Atomics Corporation in Tucson, which produces luminous watch dials

and highway signs. Last June it was discovered that the company had contaminated the surrounding area, including the kitchen that prepares food for Tucson's public schools.

After a chocolate cake was found to contain excessive levels of the radioactive tritium, the school district closed its central kitchen. American Atomics was finally forced to shut down its plant and promised to clean up the radioactive contamination.

After months of delay, Babbitt ordered the Na-

tional Guard into the plant to clean up the tritium and transport it for storage.

Only hours before it was scheduled to leave Tucson, a Flagstaff Superior Court judge issued an injunction barring the tritium from the Flagstaff depot. He cited the danger of leakage into an adjacent water supply.

The injunction was lifted when the judge was told that Babbitt had acted under a "state of emergency."

Tons of the dangerous material was trucked past

the state's major population areas. The last fifty miles was over rough roads and may have caused a leak in one of the containers.

Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix, blasted Babbitt for allowing the situation to develop. "That plant never should have been allowed to open in the first place," Fein told the *Militant*. "There is no safe way to handle radioactive materials in such large quantities. The entire nuclear industry must be shut down at once."

## NOW MEMBERS PROTEST IRAN IMPRISONMENT

Members of the National Organization for Women (NOW) attending a state conference in Willmar, Minnesota, learned about the case of fourteen imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party.

NOW members received copies of an open letter written by two of the socialists who are women and have been sentenced to life imprisonment in Iran.

One hundred twenty-five signatures were collected on petitions for the release of the prisoners.

Barb Goodman, president of the Center City (Minneapolis) chapter of NOW and president of the University of Minnesota Young Women's Christian Association, had previously sent a telegram to the Iranian government. "In the name of human rights halt the executions of the twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party," the telegram said. "These people are known in the United States as fighters against the shah."

## NEW FRAME-UP OF AIM LEADERS

By George Chalmers

PORTLAND—In 1976, after a public defense campaign, frame-up charges were dropped against American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis and Kamook Banks, Russel Redner and Kenneth Loudhawk.

Recently, Sid Lezak, a U.S. attorney, was granted a motion to reopen the case on the basis of technicalities.

Kamook Banks, Loudhawk, and Redner were arrested in November 1975 after a police siege of a motor home in Oregon. Charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives were filed. Police claimed that Dennis Banks had fled the scene.

When a warrant is received for the arrest of the four, they will face another trial in Oregon. In addition, Dennis Banks, who presently resides in California, will be subject to extradition to South Dakota if he enters Oregon.

The AIM for Freedom Defense Committee is urging that mailgrams demanding the dropping of all charges against the four defendants be sent to U.S. Attorney Sid Lezak, Post Office Box 71, Portland, Oregon 97207.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Olga Rodriguez, SWP National Committee. Grand opening of campaign headquarters. Sat., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway near Golden State Freeway. Social hour: 6:30 p.m. Program: 8 p.m. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

## SAN DIEGO

**CUBA, THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION, AND WHY WORKING PEOPLE NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sun., Oct. 24, 5 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation \$2.50. Food and refreshments. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

## MICHIGAN DETROIT

**CUBA TODAY.** Speaker: Héctor Marroquín; slide presentation. Sun., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward (corner of Woodward and Baltimore). Ausp: Militant Forum. Donation: \$1.50 (proceeds to Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee). For more information call (313) 875-5322.

## NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**STOP THE THREATS AGAINST CUBA: A FIRSTHAND REPORT.** Speakers: José Pérez, recently returned from Cuba. Sat. Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK LOWER MANHATTAN

**WHY WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speaker: Frank Lovell, *Militant* staff writer. Sat. Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

**NEW YORK CITY  
PUBLIC CAMPAIGN MEETING ON THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS.** Speakers: Ellie Beth Brady, chairperson, New York Committee for Pulley and Zimmermann; Robert Miller, youth coordinator. Sun., Oct. 7, 1 p.m. 108 E. 16 St., 2nd fl. (1/2 block east of Union Sq.). Question and answer period and planning meeting will follow. Ausp: New York Committee for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (212) 533-2902 or 260-6400.

## OREGON PORTLAND EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE DE-

**VELOPING REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA.** Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, recently returned from Nicaragua and Cuba. Sat., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

## PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**STOP POLICE BRUTALITY.** Speaker: Ben Bailey, Socialist Workers candidate for city council, and others. Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Ausp: Militant Forum. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## TEXAS DALLAS

**'EUGENE DEBS AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT.'** A documentary on workers' struggle. Sat. Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mili-

tant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

## WASHINGTON SEATTLE

**CUBA: THE TRUTH BEHIND CARTER'S THREATS.** Speaker: Steve Gabsch, member of Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists District 751. Sun., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. 4868 Reiners Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

**AFTER THREE MILE ISLAND, WHY NOT COAL?** Panel of environmentalists and coal miners. Sun., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.





### Right wing repelled in Louisville

By Chris Rayson

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The grand opening of the Socialist Workers' 1980 campaign headquarters here concluded successfully, despite an attempted disruption by fifteen right-wingers.

A September 30 celebration of the Nicaraguan revolution was held at the SWP headquarters. Outside, the right-wingers, who identified themselves as Nazis, tried to block people from attending, shouted racist epithets at Blacks, and defaced the building with Nazi slogans. Several tried to climb up the fire escape and one man brandished a knife.

They were unable to turn anyone away, however.

Some of the right-wingers wore "Democrats for Nunn" buttons. Louis B. Nunn is the Republican candidate for governor of Kentucky.

One of the right-wingers threatened *Militant* salespeople who campaign at General Electric's Appliance Park. He said there was a \$500 reward for "beating the shit" out of a *Militant* seller. GE has previously harassed socialists who work at Appliance Park. The company was forced to back down under union pressure.

Mary Gutekanst, SWP candidate for alderman in

Louisville's 12th ward, is a production worker at General Electric and the *Militant* is widely read there.

In an October 1 news release, Gutekanst announced that she and her supporters would be campaigning the next day near the General Electric plant. She stated, "Many workers at Appliance Park want to read the *Militant* and want to hear more about our proposal for forming a labor party."

"The Socialist Workers Party campaign will not be intimidated by these Nazi thugs," she continued. "With the support of all people who respect democratic rights, we intend to show the Nazis that the vast majority in Louisville oppose their brand of racist, anti-democratic terrorism."

Accompanied by a TV crew from Channel 32 Live, Gutekanst and her supporters sold sixteen copies of the *Militant* and six copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

Gutekanst is lodging a formal complaint with the Louisville police department. She is demanding police protection for the October 7 public meeting at the SWP headquarters on "The Palestinians . . . Why Andrew Young Got Fired."

**How low can you get?**—According to an Associated Press-NBC News poll, 13 percent of the American people think Congress is doing a good job, compared to a solid 19 percent that endorse President Carter's performance.

**The long view**—In case you're concerned that things might change unduly as a result of the 1980 elections, take it from Henry: not so. Speaking at a State Department banquet, Kissinger advised: "The most fundamental interests of the United States are permanent and do not change every four or eight years with the elections." Tack on "ruling class" after United States, and it's pretty precise.

**Ol' Reliable**—Under police escort, Zakow Reliable Movers was transporting an 8,000-pound piece of surgical equipment containing radioactive material from New York City to Long Island. When the truck got to the county line it was halted for having balding tires and bad brakes.

**Esthetics dep't**—Harold Levine, an ad

exec, told retail merchants he was concerned about the drift of creative writers away from retail advertising. "They regard retail advertising as just plain bad," he confided. "What a shame, because you are providing a wonderful crucible for the copy-writer. Write the ad today, run it tomorrow, and the following day the cash register rings. Let's bring creativity to retail advertising," he implored.

**Down-to-earth theology**—We reported recently what seemed like a hair-splitting factional struggle within the Southern Baptist church as to whether the bible was exactly as He dictated it, or only nearly so. The hard-liners won last June's convention with a 51 percent majority. Now, it's reported, there were some practicalities involved. Like some delegates who registered—and voted—twice, plus delegates who had not been elected by their local churches.

**The dental syndicate?**—The reason those McDonald and Burger King french fries have that distinctive flavor is that they are sprayed with sugar before cooking.

## Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



### 'I've just been waiting...'

A lot has changed since the late 1960s, when small numbers of women began to meet in rap groups to talk about our problems.

In those days most people looked askance at you if you even politely suggested that women could be carpenters, locomotive engineers, bus drivers, or doctors.

Biology was "destiny." Women only worked for "pin money." Abortion was a dirty word.

Or so we were told.

In those days we sometimes felt we were fighting in isolation from other forces in society. Many of our demands—such as abortion rights, equal pay, or affirmative action—were laughed about. We didn't always realize how deep a chord these demands struck with masses of women, especially working women.

But we correctly fought on, reaching out, explaining.

The August 26, 1970 Women Strike Day—organized by the National Organization for Women—showed we were right. The size of the actions that day, 50,000 in New York City alone, 25,000 in Chicago, showed that women *do* want to fight for our rightful place in society.

We won some big victories. We forced Congress to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. The Supreme Court legalized abortion.

But just when it seemed we could take a broom and sweep aside all inequality, we met with a blockade aimed at preventing us from moving forward.

The 1974 depression hit and the government began fighting us tooth and nail, regardless of which party was in power. They put us in a stranglehold, along with Blacks and Latinos and all working people.

Today we're all getting the shaft, so that the Democrats and Republicans can bail out big business.

But at the same time, working men and

women are moving in the opposite direction, looking for ways to defend ourselves against inflation, unemployment, inequality.

Working people are fighting back, joined by our sisters and brothers around the world. What could be more inspiring than the women in Iran marching for their rights, or the armed young sisters in Nicaragua fighting to topple Somoza?

In the U.S. labor movement, women workers are organizing women's committees and holding trade-union conferences. They're holding rap-group meetings in lunchrooms on the job, organizing for the ERA in locker rooms, fighting sexual harassment by the foremen.

Those of us who participated in the early movement see the similarities between our anger and desire to fight then, and what is happening in plants, yards, mills and offices today.

It reminds me of an essay in *Sisterhood is Powerful*, a feminist anthology compiled in the 1960s. Jean Tepperman wrote an article in that book called "Two jobs, women who work in factories."

The essay described women in her plant "talking and laughing, white, Black, Spanish, young and old, so beautiful and so strong—if only all of them would look around at each other and see that power."

At the Virginia Labor for Equal Rights Now conference, which launched a union campaign for the ERA, we saw that power in action. We saw a whole new wave of fighters for women's rights.

I talked to a Black woman worker from a sugar refinery who had come to the conference. "I've always been for women's equality," she told me. "I've just been waiting for someone to come through with this."

These are the kind of fighters the women's movement has looked forward to ever since we first raised our banners for equal rights.

#### SOCIAL MEDICINE

Researchers at Ohio State University report that treating rabbits with "tender loving care" apparently reduces the risk of heart disease significantly.

According to the September 18 *New York Times*, this seemed to be true even with animals fed an abnormally high amount of cholesterol.

A researcher said that four or five times a day she would simply stop by to visit with the selected rabbits and cuddle

them. Rabbits on the same high cholesterol diet that didn't get this attention developed two and three times the damage to their circulatory systems.

The researchers said that their findings seemed to be consistent with other studies that have shown that stress is an important factor in heart disease.

The moral being that in a humane socialist society, tender loving care will be available to all, with the consequent benefits.

### NAACP hits cross burnings



Militant/Osborne Hart

By Osborne Hart

QUEENS, N.Y.—More than 400 persons participated in a march against racism sponsored by the Jamaica NAACP branch September 29.

The action was organized to protest the rash of cross-burnings and firebombings of Black and Jewish homes in New York City, New Jersey, and Connecticut during recent weeks.

Gloster Current, a na-

tional leader of the NAACP, marched. He said, "You can't blame this [cross-burnings] on kooks and kids—it's organized."

Other participants included members of Black, Jewish, student, church, and community organizations.

The march proceeded through the Black community to the Rosedale section of Queens for a church service. Rosedale has been the scene of the racist incidents.

## Blacks and the Middle East

The support of Afro-Americans for the Palestinian struggle, which has exploded into the headlines with recent visits by civil rights leaders to the Mideast, is not a brand new event.

The recognition by Blacks in this country that Israel is a racist state founded on oppression, and that the Black and Palestinian liberation struggles have much in common, has been evolving for more than a decade.

The fact is that Blacks have been in the vanguard of developing working-class opposition to U.S. support for colonial and repressive regimes—including Israel—and of sympathy for those fighting against these tyrannies.

This development was indirectly signaled by a pro-Israel ad placed in the *New York Times* on June 9, 1970. Initiated by Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, this ad solicited the signatures of prominent Blacks to call for all-out U.S. support to the Zionist state, including stepped-up arms shipments.

This ad claimed that "the U.S. can best stand by [civil rights] ideals by unequivocally guaranteeing Israel's security."

"Some Americans, including a small minority of blacks, have expressed the feeling that the Middle East crisis is fundamentally a racial conflict between nonwhite Arabs and white Israelis. We think that this point of view is not only uninformed but dangerously misleading," the ad declared.

Why? Because it "implies that there is an inherent solidarity of nonwhite people"—a clear warning by the ad's signers against the growing identification of Blacks with the Palestinians.

This ad went on to assert that Zionist Israel "has contributed far more than any of its Arab enemies to the development of black African nations."

Typical of Zionist attempts to turn Israel's victims into non-persons, the word "Palestinians" never even appears in the advertisement.

In response to this transparent attempt to whip the Black community and Black organizations into line behind U.S. foreign policy, another ad was placed in the November 1, 1970, *New York Times* by the Committee of Black Americans for Truth About the Middle-East. The committee was chaired by Paul Boutelle, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Signed by fifty-two Blacks of diverse political views, the ad explained many points that are today getting a much broader hearing. It said in part:

"We, the Black American signatories of this advertisement, are in complete solidarity with our Palestinian brothers and sisters, who like us, are struggling for self-determination and an end to racist oppression.

"We state that we are not anti-Jewish. We are anti-Zionist and against the Zionist State of Israel, the outpost of American Imperialism in the Middle East. Zionism is a reactionary racist ideology that justifies the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes and lands, and

attempts to enlist the Jewish masses of Israel and elsewhere in the service of imperialism to hold back the Middle East revolution.

"We state that Israel, Rhodesia, and South Africa are three privileged white settler-states that came into existence by displacing indigenous peoples from their lands.

"We state that Israel continues to support United States policies of aggression in Southeast Asia, policies that are responsible for the death and wounding of thousands of black youths.

"We state that the exploitation experienced by Afro-Americans, Native Americans (Indians), Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos (Mexican-Americans) is similar to the exploitation of Palestinian Arabs and Oriental Jews by the Zionist State of Israel.

"We state that despite the ultranationalist, racist policies of the State of Israel progressive programs of the Palestinian liberation movements are popularly supported by most of the Arab masses.

"In January, 1969, Fateh spokesman Yassir Arafat stated, 'Our political vision for a free Palestine is a democratic, secular non-racial state where all Palestinians—Christians, Jews, Muslims—will have equal rights.'

"We state that Israel supported the United States in the Korean War; aided France and the terrorist Secret Army Organization in Algeria against the Algerian Revolution; opposed the anticolonial independence movements in Morocco, Tunisia, Indonesia and elsewhere; trained the counterrevolutionary para-commandos of General Mobutu who was one of the persons responsible for the murder of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo; and presently provides arms and other equipment to the Portuguese troops fighting against Angolan and Mozambican freedom fighters.

"We demand that all military aid or assistance of any kind to Israel must stop. Imperialism and Zionism must and will get out of the Middle East. We call for Afro-American solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation and to regain all of their stolen land."

Among those signing the anti-Zionist ad were attorneys Florynce Kennedy and Conrad Lynn, Robert F. Williams, former SNCC chairperson Phil Hutchings, Rev. Albert Cleage, African liberation activist Robert Van Lierop, A.B. Spellman, and Francis Beal of the Third World Womens Alliance.

The pro-Zionist ad carried the signatures of such prominent Black politicians as Shirley Chisholm, William Clay, John Conyers, Charles Diggs, Richard Hatcher, and Carl Stokes; union officials William Lucy and Frederick O'Neal; and Roy Wilkins, Vernon Jordan, and Martin Luther King, Sr.

Yet the deepening of pro-Palestinian sentiment in the Black community over the past nine years has been such that many who signed the pro-Zionist ad in 1970, represent organizations that are today on record for Palestinian rights.

### From Israel

We would like you to send us immediately some extra copies of the special *Militant* issue (August 24) on Nicaragua.

At a Chile demonstration here everybody wanted it.

Together with this we want ten copies of the special issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* on Nicaragua.

Keep up the excellent work. You help make the Nicaraguan revolution a living thing for people around the world.

*Revolutionary Communist League*

Jerusalem, Israel

### Profits, not jobs

An executive of the Milwaukee rail corporation, shown on national network news the evening of September 24, made plain the essence of capitalism: "We're not in business to give people jobs," he said. "We're in business to make a profit."

And so the investors have found the railroad

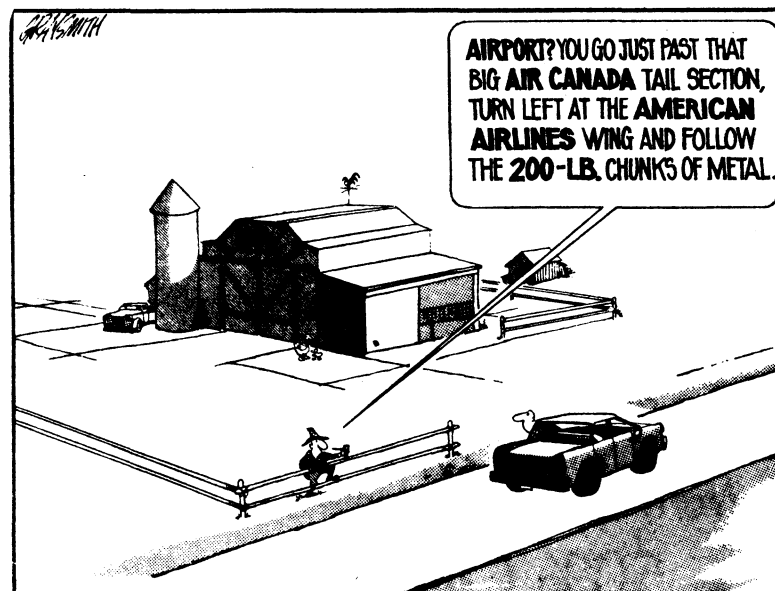
hiring quotas.

"We've got two or three major problems we never had before that are making it hard," Kelly says. "The biggest drain is the very important ecological problems. We're forced to spend huge amounts of money without regard to the cost-price relationship. The other has been the loss of control over who we hire, and that's been interference we don't need.

"Most of it is due to federal government intervention. They tell you how we're going to man the plants, the percentage of females and blacks. You have to hire Vietnam Vets and cripples. We are not privileged to select employees as we once were."

Kelly goes on to say that this new workforce is unreliable: "In the process of protecting everyone from the fear of lack of food and clothing, which Mr. Roosevelt guaranteed, we eliminated one of the very important motivations."

It's good riddance to C.D.



unprofitable. But that doesn't mean it isn't needed. It serves the transportation needs of a whole area, with hundreds of thousands of people. Closing it down means tens of thousands lose their livelihoods and entire towns disappear, according to the TV news.

But capitalists, as they explain themselves, are only in business for profit. That is, they extract as much surplus wealth as they can from people's labor. And when they decide they can put on a juicier squeeze somewhere else, they take their money and go. They shut down operations and the workers can go to hell.

What's happening to the railroads in the Midwest and the Great Plains is just one more reason why we've got to replace this inhuman capitalist system with a system based on people's needs—socialism—where we would all work for each other.

G.R.S.

Sandwich, Massachusetts

### U.S. Steel gripes

Under the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* headline, "U.S. Dictates Who to Hire and How to Run Our Mills," C.D. Kelly, General Superintendent of U.S. Steel's Edgar Thomson Works, announced his retirement after thirty-eight years of being a management faithful. His comments are evidence of the corporations' hostility to environmental concerns and

Kelly, but the policy of U.S. Steel remains: to sabotage efforts for a clean environment and to discriminate against women and minorities.

Linda Nordquist

Edgar Thomson Works

USWA Local 1219

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

### More on unorganized

Enclosed is my subscription renewal for the next year. Thanks for a great paper.

I would, however, like to see more on unorganized workers, such as farm workers (United Farm Workers does not organize on Long Island) and high school and college students working part time in places like McDonald's, where my wife recently quit. They use mild brainwashing rather than violence, but the end is still the same—more work for less money.

I would also like to say I support [Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates] Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann and wish them luck. The extra dollar is the dollar the IRS asked for, for their candidates. I would like to send more, but my finances are limited right now. I would, however, like to show my support with perhaps a bumper sticker or poster. So send me info on obtaining campaign materials.

Once again, good luck.

Mort R. Elkin

Mastic Beach, New York

## Readings On The Middle East

**ISRAEL: A Colonial-Settler State?**

by Maxime Rodinson. 128 pp., cloth \$7, paper \$2.45.

**THE JEWISH QUESTION**

by Abram Leon. 270 pp., cloth \$14, paper \$4.45.

**SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A debate from the pages of the Militant and Daily World**

Dave Frankel versus Tom Foley. 32 pp., 60 cents

**SOCIALISTS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM: An Answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League**

by Peter Seidman. 32 pp., 60 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.



# Learning About Socialism

## Resubscribe

As a previous subscriber to the *Militant*, all I needed to resubscribe was some motivation, which I found this morning while watching Milton Friedman on the "Donahue" show. Such right-wing reactionary bullshit must not go unchallenged! The *Militant* is the best source of radical information I have found and I am more than happy to subscribe again.

Enclosed is \$10. If the subscription price is still \$8.50 for six months then keep the \$1.50 and give it to some fund for Southern Africa or the Palestinians, which in my opinion are the two key international questions.

Also, could you please send me a back issue (if possible) covering the nonaligned conference in Havana. I'm curious to hear the Trotskyist position on the third world movement.

Matt Tuoni  
West Kingston, Rhode Island

## Send me the Militant

Neither words nor this letter could express my revolutionary love, feelings, and desires because actions speak louder than words. Nevertheless, here's this letter hoping it finds you all of the *Militant* in great revolutionary spirits and the best of everything, as it leaves me physically and mentally strong despite constant harassment, psychological torture, humiliation, degradation, oppression, and exploitation here in one of AmeriKKKa's leading concentration camps or human warehouses.

I read the *Militant* on several occasions through some other comrades who used to receive it. I found the *Militant* very interesting and educational politically and otherwise.

At the present time I am without funds and would like to receive or have a subscription to the *Militant*. I am presently in the hole also, and as soon as I'm able to make up for the donated subscription I will contribute to this people's paper, which is educational, political, and will arm people with revolutionary politics, which is exactly what we need in AmeriKKKa today.

A prisoner  
Kansas

## Correction

The article in the September 28 *Militant* titled "Houston gathering hears Nicaraguan consul" inadvertently quoted Consul Romeo Lopez out of context. "In a few years Nicaragua will be like Cuba" should have been followed by "... in terms of wiping out illiteracy, but the two revolutions are different. The Nicaraguan Revolution is a process the future of which the Nicaraguan people alone will determine."

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

## 'Tripartite' boards—antilabor swindle

Carter must figure workers have short memories. His Pay Advisory Committee announced September 28—with five members each from business, labor, and "the public"—is a replay of similar tripartite boards used by presidents throughout this century to hold down wages.

Nixon, for example, set up such a board in 1971 as part of his Phase II wage control program. Just a few months later four of the five labor members walked off the board to protest its wage-slashing actions.

In the April 14, 1972, *Militant*, Lee Smith took the occasion to review the historical record of such tripartite bodies. Following are excerpts from that article:

Nixon's wage-control scheme, the AFL-CIO Executive Council charged, as George Meany, [Steelworkers President] I.W. Abel, and [Machinists President] Floyd Smith walked off the Pay Board March 22, "is nothing more than a device to make the average worker and consumer both the victim and the goat, while the banks and big business pile up increasing profits.

"We will not be part of the window-dressing for this system of unfair and inequitable government control of wages," the council declared.

Four months of collaboration with the Nixon Pay Board should not have been necessary to demonstrate that "tripartism" on such a board can only be "pretense."

The whole concept of a tripartite board such as the Pay Board must rest on the fundamentally false and antilabor notion that inflation is caused by workers demanding higher wages. The top AFL-CIO leaders gave credence to this lie by serving on the Pay Board.

In World War I, World War II, and the Korean war, tripartite boards held down wage increases with some degree of success. And in every case, inflation continued unabated. *The purpose of a Pay Board is to hold down wages. But wages do not cause inflation.*

Early in 1941, as the U.S. drive toward entry into the imperialist war moved into high gear, Franklin Roosevelt proposed the idea of a tripartite board to the top leaders of the powerful CIO. Philip Murray, president of the CIO, wrote a memorandum published in the March 10, 1941, *CIO News*, criticizing the proposal.

Murray wrote that the "setup of the proposed board carries strong antilabor possibilities in the three members supposed to represent the public. It has been the experience of labor," the CIO president correctly stated, "that representatives from the public are usually taken from the ranks of retired businessmen."

On March 14, CIO leader Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, held a news conference announcing the formula he had worked out with Roosevelt for the National Defense Mediation Board (NDMB). It matched almost perfectly with Murray's warning. Nevertheless, three days later Murray agreed to the proposal and named himself and United Mine Workers secretary-

treasurer Thomas Kennedy as CIO representatives on the NDMB.

The NDMB met the same fate that has befallen Nixon's Pay Board, but it lasted for eight instead of only four months before biting the dust. Murray and Kennedy walked off the board in November 1941 after the seven pro-business members were joined by [AFL representatives] Meany and Harrison in the last of a series of distinctly anti-labor rulings affecting some 53,000 miners.

The walkoff of the CIO members smashed the NDMB, but within two months the "statesmen of labor" were serving on a new tripartite board. The new War Labor Board was staffed by some of the very same "public" members whose pro-business bias had been denounced by the CIO when Murray and Kennedy left the board.

A heroic struggle by the United Mine Workers, led by John L. Lewis, in 1943 broke down the War Labor Board's formula for denying virtually any wage increases. But even the victories won in the four successive strikes of the UMW and the meager concessions wrested by other "illegal" strikes could not offset the overall pattern. The WLB was largely successful in holding wage rises to a bare minimum.

At the same time, prices zoomed upward and profits soared even higher. In a 1944 report to FDR, George Meany, who had been serving in the Office of Price Administration, pointed to a 28.5 percent discrepancy between wage and price adjustments. In seeking a 17-cent per hour wage increase that same year, the United Steelworkers presented figures showing that profits for the U.S. Steel Corp. had almost tripled in 1942-43.

Harry Truman went before the country in December 1950 to declare a state of "national emergency."

All of the machinery set up by Truman to "mobilize" the economy was exclusively dominated by representatives of big business. The only place where room was made for representatives of the labor movement was on a new tripartite board—the Wage Stabilization Board.

Just as the corporate profits for 1950 were reported to have increased by more than 50 percent from the previous year, the pro-business majority on the WSB voted February 16, 1951, to impose a ceiling on wage increases of 10 percent.

In response to this action, the three labor members walked off the WSB. They could scarcely have done anything else in the climate created in the labor movement by the blatantly antilabor shape of Truman's economic policy, combined with the unpopularity of the Korean war.

Since Roosevelt's New Deal, the leaders of the U.S. labor movement have maintained a coalition with the Democratic Party. In large part their actions, including the latest Pay Board walkoff, are determined by their political strategy of supporting the Democratic Party. Thus, while it is unlikely that Nixon will be able to lure them back onto his board, when a Democratic administration comes into office these "labor statesmen" will once again be ready to act as "window-dressing" on another tripartite board.

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles, SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 733 E. Hedding. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-5876.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**DELAWARE:** Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S.

Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1299. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 733, Greensboro. Zip: 27401.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA,

13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-5382. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, c/o Deann Rathbun, Rt. 1, Box 504, Sheton, Wa. 98584. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., S. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## PLO leader in Harlem hails support from Blacks

By Sam Manuel

NEW YORK CITY—More than 100 people attended a September 28 forum at the Mt. Zion Lutheran Church in Harlem on Blacks and the Palestinian struggle. The featured speaker was Zehdi Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative to the United Nations.

The meeting was organized by the Black New York Action Committee, a Harlem-based organization that has sponsored similar meetings on South Africa, police brutality, and cuts in education in New York City.

This was one of many such meetings the PLO hopes to address. The support the PLO has gotten from Black leaders in the United States is a new breakthrough that will enable the Palestinians to present their story to wider layers of the American population.

While Menachem Begin, Israeli prime minister, is free to travel throughout the United States drumming up support for Israel, Terzi explained he is not allowed to travel more than twenty-five miles outside of New York City. Terzi revealed that the State Department had denied him the right to speak to the recent National Convention of Black Journalists in Washington, D.C.

Terzi underlined the solidarity between the struggle of the Palestinians and that of Blacks in this country and in Africa. He explained, "So many



PLO's Terzi: 'Brought together by our struggles against racism and oppression.'



Militant photos by Osborne Hart

people ask, What is this Black and Palestinian thing? Is it new? I say no, it is not new. The consciousness has always been there. The Andrew Young thing awakened it."

He went on to explain, "We have been brought together by the identification of our struggles against racism and oppression. My Afro-American friends, this is a long-awaited event for us."

Terzi denounced the hypocrisy of the Carter administration in forcing Young to resign.

He also scored the Camp David

accords. "There will be no peace in the Middle East until we the Palestinians have a place that we can call home," he pointed out.

"The accords have not brought peace. Today Israel continues to stockpile arms, preparing for a new war."

Two representatives of the Black New York Action Committee also spoke. Alfonso Pinkney, a professor at Hunter College, gave a brief history of the Zionist movement and the U.S. role in the establishment of the State of Israel. Patrice Wagner pointed to Israel's support to the apartheid regime

in South Africa. She said that in 1978 trade between Israel and South Africa equaled one hundred million dollars.

During the discussion from the floor one person, who later identified himself as a supporter of the Workers Viewpoint Organization, argued that Operation PUSH head Jesse Jackson was an agent of U.S. imperialism. Terzi answered him by pointing out that the PLO considers what Black leaders have done in taking a stand for the Palestinians to be a significant breakthrough. He stated, "We will work with anyone who will help us in our struggle."

Terzi ended the meeting with a dramatic gesture of solidarity. He explained, "I have had a hard time getting office space in midtown Manhattan. It seems no one will rent to me."

The audience came to its feet with cheers and applause when he announced, "So I told my lawyer yesterday that I had seen a place on Lennox Avenue in Harlem and I hope to move into it soon."

Dr. Hatem Hussaini, director of the Palestine Information Office of the PLO, made a similar point at two September forums in Louisville, sponsored by the local NAACP chapter.

He pointed out that "the Palestinian people are aware that Black people in this country, because of their own history of suffering and struggle for freedom, are more sensitive to people who are struggling for self-determination and freedom. . . . [Blacks] are trying to correct American foreign policy . . . that disregarded the human rights of the Palestinian people."

## 'Backing into another Vietnam'

By August Nimitz

Black leaders continue to speak out on the Middle East, opposing U.S. support to Israel and backing Palestinian rights. As part of his tour in the Middle East, Operation PUSH head Jesse Jackson attributed the destruction he saw in the southern Lebanon town of Damur to Israel's use of American weapons.

"America is dangerously close to backing into another Vietnam War," he said September 28.

In Nablus in the Israeli-occupied West Bank a Palestinian asked Jackson to help end U.S. military shipments to Israel: "Tell Carter we hold America responsible for the innocent lives being killed every day."

Hosea Williams, president of the

Metro Atlanta chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), echoed Jackson's comments about Vietnam following a trip to Libya where Williams met with officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"As it did on the Vietnam War, our government is misleading and lying to the American people about facts involving the Middle East conflict," he said.

"PLO officials would like to come to America and guarantee the American people that they have no intention or desire to exterminate Jews . . . all they want is democratic self-rule for the citizens of Palestine; not just the Arabs, but for all Palestinians, Palestine Jews, as well as Palestine Christians," Williams explained.

Rev. Joseph Lowery, SCLC president, recently visited the Middle East and met with PLO leader Yassir Arafat. The September 24 *Washington Post* carried an interview with him where he compared the Palestine struggle to the early civil rights marches.

The *Post* said Lowery has "a vision: the Palestinians marching from the Lebanese village of Nabatiyeh to the Israeli border—marching back home."

Lowery told the *Post*:

"Supposing they had 100,000 refugees marching to Zion—no bombs, no guns, saying they're marching home. . . . They'd get turned back. But . . . I think that would touch the conscience of the world. There are Jews who would march with them!"

## Boston Blacks to pope: Condemn racist attacks

By Luis Castro

BOSTON—Calling on Pope John Paul II to "speak out against racist violence," more than 1,000 people marched along the papal parade route here October 1.

The protest was called by the Legislative Black Caucus and the Citywide Parents' Advisory Council (CPAC) in response to the gunning down of a Black football player here September 28.

During a football game between Jamaica Plain and Charlestown high schools, Darryl Williams was shot

down on the field by a sniper.

A single bullet from a housing project nearby critically wounded the athlete. For hours, Williams's life hung in the balance as he remained unconscious with the bullet lodged in his neck. He is now paralyzed from the neck down and remains in critical condition.

The shooting is the latest outrage in a series of violent assaults on Black students here. The attacks have escalated since public schools reopened.

Ever since the courts ruled in 1974 that busing must be used to desegregate Boston schools, the city administration and School Committee have refused to protect Black students from racist violence.

But the Black community here re-

sponded to the shooting of Williams immediately—and with anger.

A meeting following the shooting, called by the Black Caucus and CPAC, turned into a protest rally denouncing the wave of racist assaults.

State representative Melvin King voiced the sentiment among Blacks that, "the massive preparation for security around the pope's visit clearly demonstrates that security can be provided when it is deemed a priority by the city administration."

Gussie Rheddick, the mother of a teammate of Williams stated, "I'm absolutely outraged that these things are still happening. The politicians of Boston have done nothing to stop it—neither Mr. White nor Mr. Timilty. Neither should look for my vote."

White, the incumbent Democratic mayor, is running against Timilty, another Democrat, for re-election.

The mayor has been silent on the attacks; which prompted the headmaster of South Boston High School, Dr. Jerome Winneger, to charge the city with an attempt to hush up the incidents for political reasons.

Winneger was referring to an assault on Black students by whites at the school September 14. Four days later a bus carrying Black students to South Boston High was stoned by a mob of white youths wearing ski masks and stockings. The next day three buses were stoned. No arrests were made.

Blacks and their supporters are planning more activities against the rise of racist violence.

Luis Castro was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston in the recent primaries.